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MUNDUS EMBLEMATICUS

Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books

edited by

Karl A.E. Enenkel and Arnoud S.Q. Visser



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BREPOLS

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Contents

Karl Enenkel and Arnoud Visser, Introduction	i
Ann Moss, 'Emblems into Commonplaces: The Anthologies of Josephus Langius'	1
Daniel S. Russell, 'Claude Mignault, Erasmus and Simon Bouquet: The Function of the Commentaries on Alciato's Emblems'	17
Chris L. Heesakkers, 'Hadriani Iunii Medici <i>Emblemata</i> (1565)'	33
Alison Adams, 'The <i>Emblemata</i> of Théodore de Bèze (1580)'	71
Anne Rolet, 'Achille Bocchi's <i>Symbolicae Quaestiones</i> '	101
Elisabeth Klecker and Sonja Schreiner, 'How to Gild Emblems. From Mathias Holtzwardt's <i>Emblematum Tyrocinia</i> to Nicolaus Reusner's <i>Aureola Emblemata</i> '	131
Paul J. Smith, 'Arnold Freitag's <i>Mythologia Ethica</i> (1579) and the Tradition of the Emblematic Fable'	173
Jan Papy, 'Joachim Camerarius's <i>Symbolorum et Emblematum Centuriae Quatuor</i> : From Natural Sciences to Moral Contemplation'	201
Lubomír Konečný and Jaromír Olšovský, 'The Seven Liberal Arts into Emblems, in Olomouc, 1597'	235
Ilja Veldman and Clara Klein, 'The Painter and the Poet: The <i>Nucleus Emblematum</i> by De Passe and Rollenhagen'	267
György Endre Szőnyi, 'Occult Semiotics and Iconology: Michael Maier's Alchemical Emblems'	301

Toon Van Houdt, 'Hieremias Drexel's Emblem Book <i>Orbis Phaëthon</i> (1629): Moral Message and Strategies of Persuasion'	325
G. Richard Dimler, 'Herman Hugo's <i>Pia Desideria</i> '	351
<i>Nota vitae</i>	381

Introduction

KARL ENENKEL AND ARNOUD VISSER*

The emblem and the Latin language have been deeply connected since the very start of the genre. Latin is the language of the first printed emblem book, which appeared in 1531 in Augsburg.¹ Heinrich Steyner's idea to publish Andrea Alciato's Latin epigrams in combination with woodcut illustrations, turned out to be a highly successful invention. What is more, the *Emblematum libellus* had a considerable effect on the European book market. An impressive number of illustrated editions of Alciato's emblems were to appear in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The success of the *Emblematum libellus* in the course of the sixteenth century helped to establish the Neo-Latin emblem as a literary form in the international *Respublica litteraria*. One emblem book after the other appeared, and with each new emblem book the range and potential of the genre increased.

The pioneers who explored the possibilities of the new genre were humanists, each operating within specific historical contexts and social areas. They share, however, a common background, constituted by a profound knowledge of the classics of Latin and Greek literature, and in particular of the Latin poets, such as Vergil, Ovid, Catullus, Statius, Tibullus, Martial, Propertius, and Horace. These texts formed a rich repository of subjects, authoritative quotations, and literary models, which were imitated and emulated in a wide spectrum of transformations. In this way, Alciato's followers, for instance Barthélemy Aneau, Achille Bocchi, Joachim Camerarius, Hadrianus Junius, Johannes Sambucus, Nicolaus Reusner, Gabriel Rollenhagen and many others, created a corpus of Neo-Latin literature that is stimulating and rich both in quality and in quantity.

This situation, however, is not adequately reflected in the present state of research, neither in emblem studies nor in the field of Neo-Latin studies. In spite of the pioneering role of Neo-Latin emblematisers and their dominance in developing the emblem into a literary genre in the sixteenth century, Neo-Latin emblem books are still under-represented in modern emblem studies. Since Praz's seminal assessment of the genre, the major part of scholarly attention

* We are indebted to Alicia Montoya for correcting the English.

¹ Bernhard F. Scholz, 'The 1531 Augsburg Edition of Alciato's *Emblemata*: A Survey of Research' *Emblematica*, 5,2 (1991) 213-254.

has been devoted either to obviously urgent bibliographic explorations,² to emblem theory,³ or to studies of the vernacular emblem traditions in France, Britain and the Netherlands.⁴ In the area of Neo-Latin research only fairly recently serious scholarly attention has been paid to the emblem.⁵ The founder of the genre is one of the few 'exceptions in this respect. His *Emblematum libellus* has been studied more profoundly.⁶ Nevertheless, little is known about the majority of the Latin emblem books. In fact, we have no clear picture of their contents, composition, and (emblematic) poetics. We hardly have any investigations into the relation between word and image in these books, or into the interaction between the writer of the epigrams, the artist (drawer, woodcutter etc.) and the publisher (printer, bookseller). Also, there are only a few editions of these books, few commentaries and few studies of their

² Peter Daly, 'The Bibliographic Basis for Emblem Studies' *Emblematica* 8,1 (1994) 151-175. Cf. Karel Porteman's review of John Landwehr, *Emblem and Fable Books Printed in the Low Countries, 1542-1813. A Bibliography* (Utrecht, 1988) in *Emblematica*, 4,1 (1989) 211-215.

³ Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery* (Rome, 1964).

⁴ For French emblem books, see the bibliography of primary sources by Alison Adams, Stephen Rawles and Alison Saunders (eds.), *A Bibliography of French Emblem Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, vol. 1 [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, CCCXXXI] (Geneva, 1999), and the bibliography of secondary literature by Laurence Grove and Daniel Russell, *The French Emblem: Bibliography of Secondary Sources* [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance CCCXLII] (Geneva, 2000). See furthermore in particular Russell, *The Emblem and Device in France* (Lexington, 1985) and *Emblematic Structures in Renaissance French Culture* (Toronto, 1995) and Alison Saunders, *The Sixteenth-Century French Emblem Book. A Decorative and Useful Genre* [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance CCXXIV] (Geneva, 1988) and *The Seventeenth Century French Emblem Book. A Study in Diversity* [Travaux du Grand Siècle XVIII] (Geneva, 2000). For the English emblem tradition, see the bibliography of secondary literature by Peter M. Daly and Mary V. Silcox, *The Modern Critical Reception of the English Emblem* (Munich, 1991), and especially Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures. English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (London-New York, 1994). For the Dutch emblem book production, see the seminal work by Karel Porteman, *Inleiding tot de Nederlandse Emblemataliteratuur* (Groningen, 1977), the issue of *Emblematica*, 8,2 (1994), which is entirely devoted to the Dutch emblem, and the recent collections of articles in John Manning, Karel Porteman, Marc van Vaecck (eds.), *The Emblem Tradition and the Low Countries. Selected Papers of the Leuven International Emblem Conference 18-23 August, 1996* [Imago Figurata Studies 16] (Turnhout, 1999).

⁵ See the survey in J. IJzerman, D. Sacré, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, II (Leuven, 1998) 119-122.

⁶ For modern scholarship into Alciato see William S. Heckscher, *The Princeton Alciati Companion. A Glossary of Neo-Latin Words and Phrases Used by Andrea Alciati and the Emblem Book Writers of His Time, Including a Bibliography of Secondary Sources Relevant to the Study of Alciati's Emblems* (New York-London, 1989); Scholz, 'The 1531 Augsburg Edition of Alciato's *Emblemata*'; furthermore, more recently, the issue of *Emblematica* entirely devoted to Alciato's emblems and their context, *Emblematica*, 9,2 (1995) and the 'Introduction' by Pierre Laurens to the facsimile edition of Alciato, *Emblemata* (Lyon: Macé-Bonhomme, 1551; Paris, 1997).

intertextual relationship with other emblem books and inter-related genres, as for example commonplace books or fable books.

While these central questions remain unanswered, the debate about the theory of emblems, especially regarding the relation between word and image, has determined to a large extent the research in the field.⁷ Most influential was Albrecht Schöne's 'Idealtypologie' of the emblem put forth in his *Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock* (1964). Schöne described the emblematic process in terms of representation and interpretation, based on visual images.⁸ According to him, the essence of the emblem lies in the use of a picture with a special ontological status:

die emblematische *pictura* [besitzt] einen wesentlich veränderten Realitätsgrad: sie und erst sie repräsentiert ganz unmittelbar, nämlich auf anschauliche Weise, was durch die emblematische *subscriptio* dann ausgelegt wird [...] Jedes Emblem ist insofern ein Beitrag zur Erhellung, Deutung und Auslegung der Wirklichkeit' (26).

Schöne thus connects the use of emblems to a symbol theory, in which natural signs are interpreted as forms of divine revelation. The picture represents the sign most directly, and therefore constitutes the core of the emblem.

This view of emblems has significant drawbacks, both on a methodological and on a practical level.⁹ In the first place, Schöne's theory is a-historical. It seems that Schöne's 'Idealtypus' of the emblem cannot accommodate the diversity of the genre. The theory invites the scholar to judge and denounce emblems according to a definition formulated centuries after the books were made.¹⁰ Schöne's definition leads to a selective view of the genre, evidenced, for example, in Homann's studies or Henkel and Schöne's *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst*.¹¹ Although the merits of this

⁷ Peter Daly offered an evaluation of this debate in English with his *Emblem Theory. Recent German Contributions to the Characterization of the Emblem Genre* [Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 9] (Nendeln, 1979).

⁸ Albrecht Schöne, *Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock* (Munich, 1993³) 21-28.

⁹ For criticism on Schöne, see Dieter Sülzer (Gerhard Sauder, ed.), *Traktate zur Emblematik. Studien zu einer Geschichte der Emblementheorien* (St. Ingbert, 1992) 32-40; Wolfgang Neuber, 'Locus, Lemma, Motto. Entwurf zu einer mnemonischen Emblematiktheorie', in: Jörg Jochen Berns, Wolfgang Neuber (eds.), *Ars Memorativa. Zur kulturgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der Gedächtniskunst 1400-1750* (Tübingen, 1993) 351-372, in particular 352-355.

¹⁰ Schöne is aware of this, but he rejects the criticism that his definition is restrictive; cf. Schöne, *Emblematik und Drama*, 30, 266-269.

¹¹ H. Homann, *Studien zur Emblematik des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Utrecht, 1971); Arthur Henkel, Albrecht Schöne (eds.), *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart-Weimar, 1996³). The selection criteria are indicated in the introduction, xxi.

monumental handbook are beyond doubt, this should not prevent us from seeing its restrictions. Since it is nowadays often used as a shortcut to the implicit canon of emblem literature, it is important to realise that the editors in fact selected emblems on the basis of Schöne's normative emblem theory. These restrictions apply to all emblem books included in the handbook and, *a fortiori*, to the many emblem books not considered worthy of inclusion at all.

Another serious difficulty of Schöne's theory concerns the influential concept of the 'ideelle Priorität des Bildes'. This idea, in fact, obscures the interaction between concrete picture and epigram. Schöne's notion of the priority of the picture implies the primacy of a *conceptual* picture, rather than a concrete representation of a visual object.¹² The picture, in this view, constitutes the *idea* behind the emblem. At this point, however, the distinction between word and image becomes blurred. When 'image' can also refer to literary images, it complicates the analysis of the interaction between epigram and *pictura*. The problem in Schöne's theory is triggered by his dominant focus on a specific, exclusive symbol theory.

A first step towards differentiation, albeit within the framework of a normative theory, was made by Dietrich Walter Jöns, who distinguished between early emblems (Alciato and his followers) and the later production. In contrast to the later symbolic emblems, he claims, in these early examples the images are selected as mere illustrations to a moral message. In these cases the emblem is 'aliquid excogitatum' and the author creates the link between the image and its meaning.¹³ Jöns's effort, however, does not offer a convincing answer to some crucial questions.¹⁴ For instance, it remains to be seen how the division between early and 'later' emblematisers corresponds to the concrete collections of emblems, especially the Neo-Latin production. In fact, the necessary empirical observations are lacking to justify such a division.

More recently, another differentiated, but in the end normative approach was offered by Dieter Sulzer.¹⁵ Using the notions of 'Korrelation' and 'Synthetisierung' he suggests as the principal criterion to look at the degree of synthesis reached in specific categories of emblems. Sulzer sees classification and the criterion of synthesis as important instruments to assess the success of a particular emblem. In Sulzer's view, emblems with more 'Synthetisierung' were more successful. In other words, what we have here, is a more modern

¹² Schöne, *Emblematik und Drama*, 26-28.

¹³ Jöns, *Das 'Sinnen-Bild'. Studien zur allegorischen Bildlichkeit bei Andreas Gryphius*, Stuttgart 1966, 18-28.

¹⁴ For a criticism on Jöns cf. Schöne, *Emblematik und Drama* 40-42, and Daly, *Emblem Theory* 47-51 (letter by Schöne) and 52-53 (Daly's own, more moderate position).

¹⁵ Dieter Sulzer (Gerhard Sauder, ed.), *Traktate zur Emblematik. Studien zu einer Geschichte der Emblementheorien* (St. Ingbert, 1992), in particular 50-62.

version of Schöne's 'Idealtypus'. It remains questionable, however, whether such a normative categorisation of emblems tallies with the actual situation in particular emblem books. More importantly, it remains to be seen if it offers a useful instrument of analysis.¹⁶

Although this is only a short overview of the recent developments in emblem theory, it brings to light some important shortcomings for the scholar interested in this field. Until now, emblem theory has not offered convincing, practical tools for understanding the early modern emblem, and has left the most important questions still unsolved. These would concern the composition of single emblems and of emblem books, the actual relation between word and image, between the writer of the epigrams, the artist and the publisher, and the intertextuality of emblem books. Above all, a considerable gap between theory and practice is evident. More empirical observations could restore the balance.

Structure of the Articles

In spite of the diversity within the field of the Neo-Latin emblem, we have tried to secure the coherence of this collection of studies by presenting a shared set of questions. Although the explicit structure of the individual articles may still vary, all contributions are thus inspired by the same problems and the same context-oriented approach.

In the first place the historical and literary context of the particular emblem book and its makers is explored. This is followed by a structural analysis of the work, investigating the basic (thematic) lines of composition. On the basis of these explorations, the poetics of the emblems can be studied in more detail. In this respect, the characteristics of the genre receive special attention: is there something like an emblematic game? How does it work? What kinds of intertextual relations can be distinguished in both the verbal and the visual parts of the work? Moreover, what is the exact relationship between these two media and how can this be properly analysed? It will appear that new and, in some cases, unexpected conclusions are inevitable.

¹⁶ Also, it is doubtful, how the 'success' of an emblem could be proven. Evidence in the form of reader response is extremely scarce.

Outline of the Contributions

This book intends to be a first step towards a better understanding of the Latin emblem book, by offering a series of studies on several of the most important emblem books, for example Hadrianus Junius's *Emblemata*, Achille Bocchi's *Symbolicae quaestiones*, Gabriel Rollenhagen's *Nucleus Emblematum*, Joachim Camerarius's *Symbolorum et emblematum centuriae quatuor* and Michael Maier's *Atalanta fugiens*, to name but a few. Furthermore, it explores new and unexpected works and studies the connection of the emblem with certain related fields, such as the commonplace book, the fable book or the Latin emblem commentary. Given the present state of research, we have chosen not to present a new study on Alciato's emblems, but to focus on the development after Alciato. It is therefore a conscious decision of the editors to leave out Alciato studies in this volume.

The first two studies are concerned with the relation between the emblem and the commonplace book. Ann Moss opens the series with an analysis of the influential commonplace anthologies of Josephus Langius. His collections both draw from emblem books and provide the emblematiser, for instance Jacob Cats, with new material. Commonplace books are not only indicative of a rhetorical discourse that affected the way of writing, but also simply provided a wealth of useful excerpts from the classics. Moreover, the practice of commonplacing influenced the formal organisation of the emblem book. For instance, in some collections the emblems were organised according to topic, or indexes provided an easy access to the reader looking for specific subjects. Moss' demystifying attention to the pragmatic way in which many Neo-Latin texts were composed may also modify the idea of the enigmatic nature of the emblem.

Daniel Russell discovers yet another important link between emblem books and commonplace books. Discussing method and function of Claude Mignault's commentary on Alciato, he shows that Mignault turned the *Emblematum libellus* into a commonplace book for schools, poets and other humanist users. Thus the emblem book is transformed into a storehouse of images, anecdotes, and motifs. This explains why the reorganisation of the emblems in 1548 is so relevant for the development of the emblem genre: the re-ordering presented each emblem as a 'place' where commonplace wisdom could be collected. With the example of Bouquet, Russell demonstrates how a French, humanist poet used Mignault's commentary as a commonplace book.

Hadrianus Junius was equally aware of the practical appeal of a commonplace book within an emblematic format. This can be seen in the very manner in which he phrases the mottoes, for instance in 'Vita mortalium vigilia' (5), 'Impunitas ferociae parens' (4), 'Ex pace rerum opulentia' (6), 'Principum

opes, plebes adminicula' (14), and 'Seipsum vincere, palmarium' (15). Chris Heesakkers presents a thorough and contextualised analysis of Junius's *Emblemata*, with a special focus on their intertextual relations. Moreover, Junius's emblem book presents an interesting case for the complex question of word and image relations in the emblem. In this book, Junius adds a detailed description of the (intended) illustrations to his epigrams and commentary.

Alison Adams analyses the first Protestant emblem book, Théodore de Bèze's *Emblemata*. Adams detects various intertextual relations, not in the last place with the Psalms. Although the general framework of the book underlines its Christian significance, a modern reader would not necessarily relate it to the Reformed Church. Still, a reference to persons expelled from their own country, for instance, situates it historically, if not doctrinally.

Anne Rolet introduces the reader to the world of Achille Bocchi's *Symbolicarum quaestionum libri quinque*. In a detailed analysis, Rolet reveals some of the complex intertextual relations, and demonstrates how the specific composition of the symbol played a role in creating and maintaining the social network of the Bolognese academician.

Elisabeth Klecker and Sonja Schreiner analyse Mathias Holtzward's *Emblematum tyrocinia* and, since Nicolaus Reusner used the same illustrations and reworked the epigrams of the *Tyrocinia*, the *Aureola emblemata* of the Silesian author. Klecker and Schreiner reveal some of the characteristics of Holtzward's use of (classical) sources and investigate the differences between Holtzward's Latin epigrams and the accompanying German verses. How to explain these discrepancies: were they written by another author, as Klecker and Schreiner are inclined to think? Whoever the author is, the differences at least show that the illustration could be interpreted in different ways, which is also the case in Reusner's reworkings. Furthermore, the study presents ample evidence of emblematic intertextuality in Holtzward's work.

In the next two articles the use of natural history as a source for emblematic discourse is studied in more detail. First, Paul Smith investigates the emblematic fable book, a genre related to the emblem. Revealing the dense intertextual relations between Arnold Freitag's *Mythologia ethica*, the anonymous *Esbatement moral* and Vondel's *Warachtighe fabulen der dieren*, he outlines the implications of this sub-genre for the range of the emblematic form.

The use of natural history in the emblems of the encyclopedic *Symbolorum et Emblematum centuriae quatuor* by Joachim Camerarius, a physician who was highly esteemed as a botanist, is quite different. In his article Jan Papy points to the scientific background of the German emblemist. Analysing the composition of the work, he shows that topical *ordo* is the guiding principle of its structure.

The next two studies highlight the iconographical side of the Neo-Latin emblem. Lubomír Konečný and Jaromír Olšovský present the remarkable, recently discovered emblematic engravings by the Olomouc brothers Andrzej and Krzysztof Koryciński, depicting the Seven Liberal Arts. Their study provides a detailed and convincing analysis of the iconography of this series of plates on the seven liberal arts. The authors furthermore demonstrate that the *inventio* of this work is not based on a conventional reuse of emblems, but a true *inventio* in the sense of a learned and playful humanistic effort. The restrictions of a normative definition of the emblem are clearly of no concern to the sixteenth-century authors of this work.

Ilja Veldman and Clara Klein offer a careful analysis of the Lutheran Gabriel Rollenhagen's *Nucleus emblematum*. They emphasize the impressive way in which De Passe's *picturae* convey the message of the emblem. In stressing the originality of De Passe's inventions Veldman and Klein in this case argue for a priority of the picture over the epigram. Furthermore, the authors deal with the emblematic intertextuality in Rollenhagen's *Nucleus* and also point to the later history of the emblems, and the copperplates of the illustrations in particular.

The relation between the emblem and the occult knowledge of alchemy is treated by György Szőnyi. In analysing Michael Maier's *Atalanta fugiens*, he argues that it is possible to come to good approximations about the built-in programmes of occult emblem books. Szőnyi provides us with valuable contextual information and offers a semiotic and structural analysis, dealing with both the collection as a whole and the relationship of its particular elements to each other.

In the two final articles, the discourse of the Jesuit emblem is addressed. Toon van Houdt investigates Hieremias Drexel's strategies of persuasion in his *Orbis Phaëthon*. In these strategies the *picturae* play an important part as initial stimuli for spiritual exercise. Richard Dimler offers a contextualised introduction into perhaps the most prominent Jesuit emblem book, Herman Hugo's *Pia desideria*. He analyses emblematic rhetorics and shows how the composition of the emblems should be analysed in close relation to the structure of the Psalms.

Of course, it may go without saying that this collection of studies into the Neo-Latin emblem is far from exhaustive. It has never been the aim of this book to deal with all Latin emblematic works. Still, even some of the prominent ones are not discussed in this collection. In a few cases, the editors deliberately decided not to include a particular emblem book. This holds for instance for the

Emblemata of Joannes Sambucus (1564) and those of Nicolaus Reusner (1581), each of which will be the subject of a forthcoming monograph.¹⁷

Naturally, it is not the goal of an introduction to offer a conclusion. Nevertheless one thing may be said in this respect: together, the studies of particular emblem books show that the supposed unity of the genre is a fallacy. Neither the 'Idealtypologie' can stand the test, nor any other normative definition of the emblem. *Variatio*, therefore, may take the place of a preliminary, albeit somewhat indistinct, conclusion. At this stage of research into the Neo-Latin emblem book, a more precise overview (or, indeed, theory) is not realistic. At least, this collection can serve as a new step towards this comprehensive view and as an invitation to further explore the different forms and functions of the genre. Thus, the concept of variation also shows how the emblematic game is defined by creating intertextual relations between the emblematic work and an overwhelming quantity of literary and iconographic models.

¹⁷ In the case of Sambucus, see Arnoud S.Q. Visser, *Joannes Sambucus (1531-1584) and the Learned Image. Forms and Functions of a Humanist Emblem Book* [PhD thesis, Leiden University, 2003].

Emblems into Commonplaces: The Anthologies of Josephus Langius

ANN MOSS

Josephus Langius (Lang or Lange, 1570-1615) was a teacher in the omniscient mode of the Renaissance humanist. His expertise as classroom expositor ranged from the Latin language and its literary culture to Greek and mathematics. His career began at Strasbourg, where he had been a student, and ended at Freiburg im Breisgau, thus appearing to cross the confessional divide as easily as he crossed divisions between disciplines. The consistent focus of his life's work, however, was his devotion to the industry of commonplacing. He had the same attitude to emblem books as he had to all other texts on which he worked. They could most effectively be put to use if they were commonplaced.¹

Langius neither wrote nor edited emblem books, and his printed work shows not the slightest enthusiasm for visual representation. He is, therefore, something of an alien intruder in any *mundus emblematicus*, his sole purpose being to gather material for enriching his own territory. The interest of his predatory endeavours for students of emblems arises from the fact that he is the main conduit for the full incorporation of emblems, and the mentality that goes with them, into the systematic processes that structured the mechanisms by which Early Modern, school-educated people read books, organised their acquired knowledge, and produced connected and persuasive discourse. An introduction to commonplace-books is hence a necessary prelude to seeing how Langius accommodated emblems to their design and purpose.

Commonplace-books were collections of quotations, most frequently Latin quotations, arranged under heads. They were a powerful formative influence on every schoolboy, for he would have worked with his commonplace-book close at hand since his days in the grammar classroom. It was the favourite teaching aide of humanist grammar masters, who prided themselves on instructing their charges in good letters and good morals, and began by getting them to write down and learn by heart edifying sentiments couched in authentic classical Latin. It facilitated their methodology of acquiring Latin from classical texts, and ensured that pupils retained the

¹ There is a rather skeletal account of the life of Langius, together with a full bibliography of his work, in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, under 'Lang: Joseph'.

language forms they found there, and reproduced them in composition. Indeed, it was none other than the foremost humanist of his day, Erasmus, in his *De copia* of 1512, who set the mould for making commonplace-books, in a passage advising how to store collections of illustrative examples in retrievable form.² One should make oneself a notebook divided by place-headings, then subdivided into sections. The headings should relate to 'things of particular note in human affairs' or to the main types and subdivisions of vices and virtues, derived, perhaps, from Cicero, Aristotle's *Ethics*, the *Summa theologiae* of St. Thomas Aquinas, or the examples collected by Valerius Maximus early in the first century AD. Extracted from the *De copia*, this advice was printed time and again along with similar passages from other humanist pedagogues, for use in schools throughout northern Europe. The place-headings, normally a single word, for example 'faith', 'friendship', 'liberality', 'riches', could be arranged in different ways. Erasmus himself preferred an arrangement of headings by similars and opposites, because that best matched the persuasive stratagems of rhetorical discourse. Later models were more ideologically programmatic. Moreover, the printing industry was quick to see that there was a market for the mass production of commonplace-books. Printed examples of the genre tended to standardise the headings used and, at the same time, established an array of recommended ways for organising them, and the practice of printers is reflected in surviving manuscript commonplace-books. Many commonplace-books map the headings for their collected quotations onto a conceptual framework. Protestants often used the Ten Commandments as their organising principle. Catholics might prefer the catalogue of moral qualities to be found in the *Summa* of St. Thomas. Both Protestants and Catholics had a fondness for the seven virtues and the deadly sins, or, if more secularly orientated, the way moral tendencies are listed in Aristotle's *Ethics*. Very ambitious commonplace-books attempted to reproduce the hierarchy of the universe itself, progressing from God and things eternal, through the animate and inanimate things of nature, dwelling lengthily on man, and invariably ending with death and hell. Most commonly of all, ease of retrieval dictated that heads should be ordered alphabetically, and there was scarcely a commonplace-book, even if it followed another order, that was not indexed alphabetically. Whatever the organising system they employed, commonplace-

² Erasmus, *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum*, ed. B. I. Knott, in: Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, I, 6 (Amsterdam, 1988) 258-64. For a comprehensive history of commonplace-books, see A. Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford, 1996); and, for the rhetorical use of commonplaces, F. Goyet, *Le Sublime du 'lieu commun': l'invention rhétorique dans l'Antiquité et à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1996).

books mapped the moral universe of literate youths and imprinted on their minds a morality of a particular stamp.

The owner of a commonplace-book was in the first instance a reader. With his notebook to hand he probed his text, most often a Latin text, picking up notable passages and allocating them to his prepared heads. At school, he would probably do this under his teacher's guidance, but the habit was supposed to be acquired for life. It was a method of reading that assumed that knowledge and insights acquired from a diversity of books could be fitted into pre-existing, public categories of thought, and to that extent it was fundamentally conservative. But such a reading practice did not preclude individual initiative. The commonplacing reader could fit his extracts wherever seemed appropriate to him, he could juxtapose contradictory excerpts on a single theme, or he could put the same passage under different heads and make cross-references to introduce mobility, and even a degree of scepticism, into the intellectual data-bank and word-store he was creating. The commonplace-book, however, was not just an analytical instrument for readers or a mini-encyclopaedia. It was also a production mechanism. The data it stored was meant to be retrieved and redeployed. However elaborate its organisation, there would always be a complementary index of its commonplace heads in alphabetical order. So, whatever the subject the writer had to hand, he could find matter to his purpose by looking up the heads in his commonplace-book. The quotations he found there would also provide models for amplifying and ornamenting the composition he had plotted on the guidelines provided by the heads and their contents. Erasmus had advised the Latin learner to look out particularly for fables, examples, pithy remarks, witty sayings, proverbs, metaphors, and similitudes. Later, there were whole printed commonplace-books specialising in tropes, apophthegms, similitudes, adages, or examples, and, because most of the quotations collected in any commonplace-book were chosen because they were short and to the point, commonplacing *ipso facto* favoured the amassing and copious employment of *sententiae* (aphorisms), that were the soul of wit. Commonplace-books supplied, and programmed, a culture of verbal discourse revelling in ornamentation, dilation, redundancy. Being a resource shared by readers and writers, in an age when recognisable imitation was admired, commonplace-books were also a cohesive factor, bonding an educated élite whose collective memory was stocked from texts, mainly classical texts, packaged in labelled containers.

Commonplace rhetoric, however was not confined to verbal variation. Commonplace-books were also closely linked to a particular kind of argumentative strategy, known as place-dialectic. 'Places' in this sense were

paradigms for arguments that could ensure plausibility, as well as plenitude, of discourse. So, the heads might be related to Aristotle's basic categories of definition, and the extracts gathered under them might be accompanied with a signal for using them as places of division, cause, effect, adjuncts, circumstances, similars, opposites, and all the other stratagems appropriate to discourse designed to persuade with rigour. The commonplace-book would thus provide its owner with dialectical operators for bringing into strategic play his headings and the quotations he had collected under them. In particular, and especially if they were well referenced back to their source texts, as they usually were, the quotations could function as arguments from authority. It was the potential of the commonplace-book for substantiating the moves of dialectic and for furnishing proof-texts that made it every bit as useful an adjunct to theology as to more secular modes of writing. Commonplace-books of quotations from the Bible, the Fathers of the Church, and other religious authorities, aligned to the subject heads most familiar in theological controversy, were the resource of Catholics and Protestants alike.

The works by Langius of interest to emblematisers are his two large commonplace-books, his *Loci communes* or *Anthologia* (1598) and his *Polyanthea nova* (1604), both representative of the most mature stage in the development of the commonplace-book as it has just been described. They were not his only contribution to commonplacing, nor was he by any means the only worker in the industry. In 1555 and 1557, one of his many predecessors, Conradus Lycosthenes (Konrad Wolffhart, c. 1518-1561), had reorganised the *Apophthegmata* and *Parabola*e of Erasmus as a searchable resource with the material distributed under alphabetically ordered commonplace heads, thereby ensuring both compilations of extracts a longevity that Erasmus's dislike of alphabetisation and system would certainly have denied them. For his first published essay at commonplacing, Langius tackled the other great Erasmian compilation, the *Adagia*, but he was at this time at Strasbourg and working under the guidance of his teacher, who himself had commonplaced the *Adagia* at the instigation of the great Strasbourg humanist, Johann Sturm (1507-1589). Sturm had been perhaps the most influential advocate of the commonplace-book as mirror of nature, replicating the order of things down from God through the hierarchy inherent in the created universe. This is the order that Langius chooses for the heads under which he arranges the adages of Erasmus, together with other sayings culled from other sources, claiming that it is a method more conducive to profitable browsing through related topics than 'the usual alphabetical

listing'. Even so, Langius sees the merit of providing an alphabetical index to his heads and subheads.³

Later publications by Langius are typical of another manifestation of commonplace-book culture. In the last half of the sixteenth century and well into the seventeenth, editions of major literary works in Latin invariably announce on their title-pages that they include an index of commonplaces. It was a major selling point for a clientele wanting to extract passages into their commonplace-books, and, as editorial practice became established, they expected to have the task made so easy for them that they only had to look up the index to locate both quotation and the heading under which to file it. Langius supplied an edition of the *Odes* of Horace 'digested into commonplaces for the benefit of students' (the usual title-page formula) and an index to the works of Martial particularly concerned with vocabulary and its proper use.⁴ A final example of his work as systematic compiler dates from his later years at Freiburg im Breisgau, where he taught mathematics and doubtless assembled the material for his book containing the elements of arithmetic, geometry, astronomical calculations, and geography. Its usefulness is very precisely that it is 'collected from all the best writers' on these subjects.⁵

Langius specialised in collecting from all the best writers. He was even more adept at collecting from all the best collectors. In 1598 he published at Strasbourg the first of his two great commonplace compilations, *Loci communes seu potius florilegium* (later called *Anthologia sive florilegium*).⁶

³ Josephus Langius, *Adagia, sive sententiae proverbiales, graecae, latinae, germanicae, ex praecipuis autoribus collectae, ac brevibus notis illustratae, inque locis communibus redactae* (Strasbourg: J. Rihel, 1596); Langius's preface makes quite clear his debt to Sturm.

⁴ *Odae [Horatii] in locos communes ad lyricae poeseos studiosorum utilitatem digestae* (Hanover, 1604); *Index omnium vocabulorum quae in omnibus M. V. Martialis poematum libris reperiuntur [...] tam ad linguae latinae, quam ad poeseos rectum usum concinnatus ac editus* (Strasbourg, 1595); the index to Martial was very frequently reprinted as an appendix to editions of his work.

⁵ *Elementale mathematicum, continens elementa arithmeticae vulgaris, logisticae astronomicae, geometriae, astronomiae sphaericae, theoricarum planetarum, geographiae. Ex optimis scriptoribus collecta* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1612). Langius also taught Greek at Freiburg and made a collection of 'examples of brevity' from Greek authors, *Tyrociniū graecae literaturae* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1607), which demonstrates how early lessons in Greek, like those in Latin, started pupils on connected discourse by using authentic *sententiae* and other short forms, which they would transfer to their commonplace-books.

⁶ I have used the edition printed at Strasbourg in 1631 by W. C. Glaser: *Anthologia sive florilegium rerum et materialium selectarum. Praecipue: sententiarum, apophthegmatum, similitudinum, exemplorum, hieroglyphicorum. Ex sacris literis, patribus item, aliisque linguae graecae et latinae scriptoribus probatis collectum [...] Additus est index fabularum, emblematum, ac symbolorum*; the original 1598 edition published by the heirs to J. Rihel was

The work was very much a commercial proposition, a product of collaboration between Langius and the Strasbourg family of printers who paid for its publication and saw it through the press. Their joint project was to produce a single, reasonably priced volume, easy to carry and easy to consult, in which students could find quotations collected out of the best known commonplace-books in circulation.⁷ Its very *raison d'être*, therefore, was to be a compilation of compilations, and it was targeted to the widest possible market of Latin users, whether their interests were religious or secular. The *Loci communes* of Langius is perhaps the richest and most methodical example of the commonplace-book operating as a resource for every kind of composition, as an index of matter under commonplace heads, as a source of authoritative opinions on all sorts of subject, and as a repository of models of rhetorical ornament, culled from the masters of Latin verse and prose and catalogued by topics.

The *Loci communes* is eminently searchable. Its mainly one-word heads are ordered alphabetically, and they are cross-referenced in such a way as to encourage the student to think in terms of dialectical places of argument, contraries, affinities, and conjugates, which can flexibly expand his discourse. Under each head, quotations, referenced to author and work, are systematically assembled in tidy groups (though not every group appears under every head). The groups are: biblical *sententiae*; patristic *sententiae*; 'flowers' from the (classical) poets; maxims of philosophers and orators; apophthegmata; similitudes; examples found in sacred writing; examples found in secular authors; and, lastly, 'hieroglyphs or emblems'. The user can rest assured that Langius, as he promised in his preface, has trawled all the major printed commonplace-books: the *Manipulus florum* of Thomas of Ireland for the Bible and the Fathers; *Sententiae illustiores* from Cicero and the philosophers; *Flores poetarum* collected by Octavianus Mirandula; Erasmus's *Apophthegmata* and his similitudes or *Parabola*e already commonplace'd by Lycosthenes; and more commonplace'd similitudes

reprinted several times at Strasburg, in 1605, 1613, 1621, 1622, 1624, 1625, and later still through the seventeenth century. For descriptions of Langius's commonplace compilations, see B. L. Ullman, 'Joseph Lang and His Anthologies', in: George Fenwick Jones (a.o., eds.), *Middle Ages, Reformation, Volkskunde: Festschrift for John G. Kunstmann* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1959) 186-200 (excellent on the multifarious sources of Langius's gleanings), and M. Meijor, 'Polyanthea nova von Joseph Lange: ein Exempel der neulateinischen Florilegia' in: A. Moss, P. Dust, (a.o., eds.), *Acta conventus neo-latini hafniensis* (Binghamton, NY, 1994) 651-662.

⁷ Langius's preface, sigs. 5 - 5+3, is very informative about the circumstances of the volume's production and about its sources and its methodology.

harvested by Lycosthenes and published by Theodor Zwinger, himself the collector of examples in his *Theatrum vitae humanae*.⁸

But what of 'hieroglyphs and emblems'? It was by no means novel for emblems to be associated with commonplace-book culture. Though they were never illustrated and have no direct connection with the visual arts, commonplace-books overlapped in several respects with emblem books. The matter of both was essentially moral. They both favoured aphoristic expression, commonplace-books in the privileged role they gave to *sententiae*, emblems in the motto or devise attached to their illustrations. Moreover, the more sophisticated emblem books, especially those that found learned commentators, could be contextualised in the same classical (or even sacred) source-texts from which commonplace-books took their quotations. As early as 1548, Barthélemy Aneau rearranged Alciato's emblem book under commonplace heads for an edition of the *Emblemata* published at Lyons, and indexed them as he had ordered them, under 'God and religion', virtues and vices, and other heads.⁹ The following year, when Aneau produced a French version of his edition, he explained that the emblems were grouped 'en lieux communs, comme en certaines bendes, soubz chapitres generaulx des principales choses: procedans depuys les souveraines, et plus haultes jusque aux terriennes, et plus basses: comme de Dieu jusque aux arbres'.¹⁰ Aneau's terminology, his statement that he will arrange his heads and emblems hierarchically, and his actual practice that arranges them by affinities and opposites, demonstrate that he was perfectly well acquainted with commonplace-books and schemes for ordering them. Aneau claimed that his cataloguing and indexing activity facilitated the use of Alciato's emblems by readers, makers of devices, and domestic decorators, but he does not mention writing. His Alciato was essentially an emblem book got up as a commonplace-book to maximise its market. When Langius included emblems as a subsection of his commonplace heads (and he was very probably the first to do so), he converted them totally into commonplaces, denuding them of their visual component, divesting them of their explanatory verse or prose, and reducing them at best to motto or symbol. In effect, emblem collections in

⁸ For these collections, see A. Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, and her entry under 'Lycosthène' in: C. Nativel (ed.), *Centuria latina*, vol. II (in press).

⁹ *Emblemata Andreae Alciati [...] locorum communium ordine ac indice [...] aucta* (Lyons: M. Bonhomme and G. Rouille, 1548); there is a modern facsimile of the 1551 Bonhomme edition, which reproduces the order by commonplaces and the index, edited by P. Laurens, *Les Emblèmes* (Paris, 1997).

¹⁰ *Emblèmes d'Alciat de nouveau translatez en françois vers pour vers joute les latins. Ordonnez en lieux communs, avec briefves expositions [...]* (Lyons: M. Bonhomme and G. Rouille, 1549) 5.

Langius's book became another resource for rhetorical aides to writing, akin to collections of metaphors, similitudes, and *sententiae*.

One has to suppose that they were not the resource Langius esteemed most. His novel inclusion of 'hieroglyphs and emblems' is probably a gesture to their popularity with the student and school-educated adult market for which his volume was intended, and it was a foresighted move in view of the role emblem making was beginning to have as a classroom exercise. Nevertheless, it is impossible not to notice that 'hieroglyphs', when they are included, and that is relatively rarely, are relegated to the last place in the groups under his commonplace heads. Emblems are relegated even further, to an appendix right at the end of the volume. All the hieroglyphs in the *Loci communes* are taken word for word from the *Hieroglyphica* of Picrio Valeriano (1477-1560), first printed in its entirety at Basel in 1556. That work, though it has a fondness for the wisdom of the Egyptians, is in fact a universal dictionary of symbols, well referenced in pagan and sacred texts, and catalogued as sets of signifying things. There are books devoted to musical instruments, weapons of war, trees, birds, insects, and so on, with explanations and quotations to illustrate how they could be used as signs. A sword, for example, is used in authoritative texts to signify cruelty, a crime, the spoken word, justice, anger, the authority of emperors and popes, the Holy Spirit, and death. The work is nicely illustrated, but only sporadically, with representations of the signifying things as they might appear on coins or medals. It could be a source for emblems, but it is not an emblem book. To use it for his commonplace purposes, Langius went straight to its detailed index for words that tallied with his heads. Looking up 'death', he found its symbols listed and chose: 'spear' (*framea* in the psalms); 'sword' (first so used by the Scythians, who got it from the Egyptians); 'distaff' (the attribute of the Fates); 'pine'; 'cypress'. His habit was to quote the first sentence or two of the entry he found in Valeriano, with a precise reference to book and page number (though not to the specific edition he had used). What his reader acquired was the means to enhance further his stylistic virtuosity (the *elocutio* of rhetorical theory). He was now equipped with the resources of metonymy, to add to Langius's examples of the rhetorical figure, similitude, with which to vary and elaborate discourse on the commonplace topic he had searched. The company Valeriano keeps in the *Loci communes*, and the dialectical and rhetorical purposes that motivate the user of that book, divest the hieroglyphs of any aura of mystery they may have had in other contexts.

In his preface, Langius apologises for the relative paucity of hieroglyphs, blaming it on the need to make his volume reasonably compact and advising the reader to cross-refer to similitudes, thereby revealing his

perception that symbol and similitude were interchangeable as regards substance. He also refers the reader to the index of 'fables, emblems, and symbols' provided by his young pupil, Johannes Philius, as a supplement to the main work.¹¹ By 'fables' are meant the collection of Aesopic fables made by Joachim Camerarius (1477-1560), as is clearly stated in the preface to the index itself.¹² The emblem books from which the index was compiled are the *Emblemata* of Alciato and the *Symbola et emblemata* of Joachim Camerarius the Younger (1534-1598), of which three sets of one hundred emblems each (three *centuriae*), devoted to plants, quadrupeds, and birds and insects, had been published at Nuremberg by 1596.¹³ The one-word headings in the index of fables, emblems (or symbols) follow exactly the alphabetical ordering of entries in the body of the *Loci communes*: 'Abstinencia', 'Abusio', 'Accusatio', 'Actio', 'Adiuratio', 'Admiratio', and so on, though only a minority of the heads in the main text are reproduced. Under his heads, Langius's assistant assembled his references in a totally consistent manner and with the minimum of information necessary for looking them up. Camerarius comes first, followed by Alciato, with the number of the emblem and the motto. The entry on death, for example, reads:

Cam. Em 81 cent 2 symb. Mori malo, quam foederi. Id Emb 23 cent 3 symb. Divina sibi canit et orbi. Id Em 77 cent 3 sym. Sortem ne despice fati. Alc. Emb 155 symb. In formosam fato praereptam. Id Em 156 sym. In mortem praeproperam. Id Em 157 sym. Terminus.¹⁴

Only by looking them up would the enquirer discover the delicately drawn vignettes of white mouse, swan, and owl, and all the other engravings in the Camerarius emblem books that delight the eye, as well as intrigue the mind with symbols.

Between 1598 and 1604, most probably towards the end of that period, Langius converted to the Roman church and moved to a teaching position at

¹¹ 'Horum [examples from pagan authors and hieroglyphs] inopiam levabunt cum Similitudines, tum Index utilissimus Apologorum seu Fabularum, Emblematum atque Symbolorum, quem nostro instinctu ornatissimus adolsecens Johan. Philius huic operi locupletando adiacere voluit' (*Anthologia*, sigs. 5+2v - 5+3).

¹² *Ibid.*, fol. 626v; the index is at fols. 627 - 639v.

¹³ The title to the collections by Camerarius clearly validates Langius's treatment of 'emblem' and 'symbol' as synonyms, though 'symb' in the quotation that follows seems to refer more specifically to the motto or title of the emblem. For the emblems of Camerarius, see the article by Jan Papy in the present volume.

¹⁴ *Anthologia*, fol. 634v. There is no indication of the editions used, but it is perfectly easy to find the emblems; the Alciato examples are three of the six catalogued by Aneau under 'Mors'.

Freiburg im Breisgau, where commonplacing was as essential an instrument of learning as it had been at Strasbourg. His *Loci communes* were also converted, and, like his new religious affiliation, his reformed volume of commonplaces harked back to an older model. His *Polyanthea nova* was first published at Lyon in 1604.¹⁵ The original *Polyanthea* compiled by Dominicus Nanus Mirabellius had first appeared in 1503 at Savona and was a well known reference book in the early decades of the sixteenth century. It is derived partially from alphabetical concordances to the Bible used by preachers and partially from encyclopaedic dictionaries of Latin vocabulary compiled by humanists. It consists of definitions and etymologies, followed by extracts from sacred and profane authors. The arrangement of this material under alphabetically ordered heads makes it a precursor of the commonplace-book of the humanists, who certainly recognised it as close in kind to their favourite learning and production aide. There had been previous attempts to revitalise and modernise it by integrating into it commonplace collections of *sententiae* by Bartholomaeus Amantius and Franciscus Tortius, and, as Langius states in his preface, he used a combination of one such amalgamation and a copy of the original *Polyanthea* as the base onto which to graft material from his own *Loci communes* and so produce a very large volume indeed.¹⁶

Or, rather, he did not quite say that, as his own Strasbourg production was tainted by its suspect Protestant environment, but his methodology is clear. From the original *Polyanthea* of Nanus Mirabellius, he retained definitions and etymologies. More interestingly, he kept the ramifying brackets on which Nanus Mirabellius had laid out his definitions of key words in preaching in such a way as to underwrite and resource the rhetoric of the

¹⁵ *Polyanthea nova, hoc est opus suavissimis floribus celebriorum sententiarum tam graecarum quam latinarum refertum: quod ex innumeris fere cum sacris tum profanis autoribus, iisque vetustioribus et recentioribus, summa fide olim collegere, ad communem studiosae iuventutis utilitatem, eruditissimi viri, Dominicus Nanus Mirabellius, Bartholomaeus Amantius, et Franciscus Tortius. Nunc vero, sublata omni titulorum et materiarum confusione, ordine bono digestum, et innumeris prope cum sacris tum profanis sententiis, apophthegmatis, similitudinibus, adagiis, exemplis, emblematis, hieroglyphicis et fabulis auctum* (Lyon: Lazarus Zetznerus, 1604). There were at least twenty re-éditions, with various revisions, up until the 1680s. The original publisher, Zetznerus, apparently crossed the sectarian divide to finance editions of the *Polyanthea* at Lyon and Frankfurt and editions of the *Loci communes* or *Anthologia* at Strasburg.

¹⁶ *Polyanthea* [sec. n. 15], sig. 2. This and subsequent editions are large format, rather different from the octavo size to which Langius had been so concerned to restrict his Strasburg *Loci communes*. He and his publisher do not intend his Catholic book of extracts to be the familiar, portable companion that the Protestant reader could consult at will. The Catholic volume is more likely to remain in limited access, under the surveillance of teacher or librarian.

late medieval sermon, with its co-ordinated divisions and distinctions on terms. Langius's late sixteenth-century readers would have had no trouble in reading such bracketed definitions with eyes accustomed to seeing them in Ramist texts. He also took from Nanus Mirabellius extensive passages from the Church Fathers and *sententiae* from the collections with which the *Polyanthea* had been amalgamated. What he brought from his own experience as a commonplace-book editor was the meticulous ordering of extracts already visible in the *Loci communes*. In the new compilation, every one of the alphabetically arranged heads can, potentially, attract twelve subdivisions, though in practice this is by no means true of every entry. These subdivisions always appear in the same order: definitions and etymologies; bracketed divisions; Biblical *sententiae*; Biblical *loci* (authoritative passages for use in argument); extracts from Fathers and Doctors of the Church; aphorisms from poets; extracts from philosophers, orators, and historians; apophthegmata; similitudes; adages; sacred and secular examples; and, lastly, hieroglyphs, emblems, and short bibliographies. Langius prides himself on his systematic presentation, but also on the wealth of material by which he has immeasurably enriched the rather mean offerings of his predecessors. Whereas they had piled up definitions, divisions, and excerpts from the Fathers, they had disappointed searchers looking for the wherewithal to 'enrich and ornament discourse': apophthegmata, similitudes, adages, and examples. In particular, they had utterly failed to provide instances of hieroglyphs and emblems.¹⁷

Langius sets himself to remedy this deficiency in ornaments of discourse, and does so in abundance. Hieroglyphs and emblems, however, constitute the last and smallest category in entries under his alphabetical heads, and more often than not they are omitted. Nevertheless, the addition of hieroglyphs and emblems to Nanus Mirabellius and his successors introduces a category unknown to them. The hieroglyphs are taken over from the *Loci communes*. The status of emblems is enhanced in so far as they now form part of the text of the main body of the work, and the index of fables, emblems and symbols, as we had it in the *Loci communes* disappears. Along with the index, the emblems from Camerarius, a Protestant author, also disappear. Almost the only source for emblems in the *Polyanthea nova* is Alciato. There is some overlap with the Alciato emblems Langius had chosen for the *Loci communes*, but it looks very much as if he had made a new selection for himself, disregarding the index his pupil had compiled for him. Now Alciato's emblem verses are quoted in full, with their original motto-title and number. But there

¹⁷ *Polyanthea* [sec n. 15], sigs. 2-2v.

are no pictures or descriptions of pictures. Without looking them up, the reader could have no idea exactly what image he would find to illustrate the commonplace topic he proposed to amplify. There are three emblems under the heading 'death' (nos. 156, 170, 154 in Alciato). Though we have the verses to read, they have a very minor part in the chorus of quotations orchestrating variations on the theme of death. Emblem verses occupy very little space compared with the ample quotations in front of them, which include four whole dialogues by Petrarch devoted to the subject.¹⁸

There were various revisions and enlargements to the *Polyanthea nova* after the death of Langius. The most significant, edited by Franciscus Silvius Insulanus, *Florilegii magni seu Polyantheae floribus novissimis sparsae libri XX*, was first published at Lyon in 1619, and provides a great many extracts from Catholic authors, notably Justus Lipsius, rifled for *similitudines*, as well as a great deal of material under very specifically Catholic heads such as 'Virgo Maria'. Most of the Catholic heads and entries collected under them were already in the compilations by Amantius and Tortius based on the original *Polyanthea* by Nanus Mirabellius, but Langius had chosen not to use them, perhaps with an eye to keeping the market he had cultivated at Strasbourg. The quotations entered by Silvius under 'Virgo Maria' are from the Bible, the creeds, the decrees of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, and the Greek and Latin Fathers up to Saint Bernard. To these eminently authoritative extracts are added two contemporary poems consisting of distichs on the first five phrases of the 'Ave Maria', and some verses elaborating the anagram 'Iesus Maria / Es vis amari', whose theme is the love binding Mary and her Child, far superior to worldly loves. These are humanist exercises in paraphrase and amplification, not devotional poems rooted in liturgy, and they are local products, the second being ascribed to 'Antonius Del Eglise Lugdun'.¹⁹

Only a thorough investigation could determine whether this more flamboyantly Catholic version of Langius's much more discrete *Polyanthea nova* mirrors the growing predilection for emblems in Catholic schools.²⁰ The overwhelming majority of its quotations under 'emblems' are the Alciato

¹⁸ *Dialogi*, nos. CXVIII ('De morte'); CXXI ('De morte violenta'); CXXII ('De morte ignominiosa'); CXXIII ('De morte repentina'); the section on death occupies pages 767-781, with the emblems last on page 781.

¹⁹ The extracts under 'Virgo Maria', in a later edition of the *Florilegii magni seu Polyantheae floribus novissimis sparsae libri XX*, ed. Franciscus Silvius Insulanus (Frankfurt: heirs to Lazarus Zetznerus, 1628) are at cols. 3073-3084.

²⁰ See M. van Vaeck and J. Manning (eds.), *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition* [Imago Figurata, 1a] (Turnhout, 1999).

emblem verses selected by Langius for his *Polyanthea nova*, with a few additions from the same source. There are, however, some interesting supplements. I have detected evidence of covert invasion from a 'neotericus quidam', who is Joachim Camerarius. The text cannot refer to this Protestant book, but its emblem verses are quoted in full under the head 'poetry' to make the point that the hearts of poets need to be softened by a rich patron as swans need zephyr breezes to set them sweetly singing.²¹ Under 'virginity' and elsewhere, under the rubric 'emblems', Silvius quotes verses from the *Anthologia sacra* of Jacques de Billy. So, under the title 'duplex virginitas', we find:

Carnis virginitas intacto corpore habetur,
 Virginitas animae est interemerata fides.
 Qua sine corporei nil prodest cura pudoris
 Sed mentis pietas auget utrumque bonum.²²

These are in fact not emblem verses at all. In their original context they are short poems under pious headings, to which were appended 'scholia', glossing and amplifying them with reference to the Bible and to patristic commentary on the Bible. They do not describe pictures, nor does the *Anthologia sacra* have pictures. Langius had already included quotations from the same source in his *Polyanthea nova*, but as *poeticae sententiae*. By the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century, the pictorial content of emblem verses seems dispensable, at any rate in the context of commonplaces.²³

A slightly later addition to the *Polyanthea nova* in the shape of a large second volume in two parts compiled by the Dutch Protestant scholar, Janus Gruterus (1560-1627), yields rather more fruit to the seeker after emblems.²⁴ Gruterus was a collector of quotations on the grand scale and himself

²¹ *Florilegii magni [...] libri XX*, col. 2377; adapted from Camerarius, no. 24 of the third *centuria* of symbols and emblems; the same emblem had already been listed under 'poetry' in the index of emblems to the 1598 *Loci communes*.

²² *Florilegii magni [...] libri XX*, col. 3073.

²³ The original edition of Billy's *Anthologia sacra, ex probatissimis utriusque linguae patribus collecta, atque octastichis versibus comprehensa*, from which Langius had taken his 'poeticae sententiae' was published at Paris by Nicolas Chesneau in 1575. The extracts used by Silvius are not to be found there. He may have been exploring for his own purposes a second volume of Billy's *Anthologia sacra*, published at Paris by Guillaume Chaudière in 1578.

²⁴ *Florilegii magni seu Polyantheae tomus secundus. Formatus concinnatusque ex quinquaginta minimum auctoribus vetustis, graecis, latinis [...] quorum tamen nullus fere comparet in tomo primo* (Strasburg: heirs to Lazarus Zetznerus, 1624).

fabricated thousands of sententious verses for inclusion in commonplace-books. The title-page of the supplement he made to Langius stresses that its material is almost all new, including 'new apophthegmata and emblems', but by and large Gruterus retains the systematic classification of the *Polyanthea nova* and the relatively minor role it gave to emblems. Such emblems as there are, however, are indeed new and they are often drawn from sources not available to the Catholic Langius. The Protestant Camerarius, banned from the *Polyanthea nova*, is rehabilitated. Another Protestant source is the *Emblemata* of Denis Lebey de Batilly, published at Frankfurt in 1596, with very elegant engravings by Jean-Jacques Boissard. This is a typical emblem book in its layout, presenting motto, picture, and verses on one page and, facing them, a prose amplification. Gruterus quotes three of Lebey's emblems under the rubric 'death', and they are highly visual, presupposing illustrations Gruterus does not provide. He begins with the first emblem in Lebey's book, on the Fates:

Una colum molli lana sibi subit amictum,
 Altera deducit, tertia fila secat.
 Sparsi hinc inde solo succincti stamine fusi,
 Qui multo, aut modico, qui brevior, iacent.
 Sic dominae fati, fato quae debita complent
 Tempora sic vitae quae data pensa regunt.
 Longius aut proprius sic serior ocyor, ut sors
 Cunque expleta sua est, mors sua quenque manet.²⁵

This is an explanation of an image of the spinning Fates, with the 'moral' latent, rather than drawn out. It can only stand free of its engraving because the words themselves paint the picture and can substitute for it. Other sources Gruterus has exploited are the popular *Emblemata* of Hadrianus Junius, of which the first of many printings was at Antwerp in 1565, and the much more up-to-date emblem work of Gruterus's contemporary and compatriot, Jacob Cats.

Nevertheless, despite these additions, Gruterus stuck to the parameters Langius had set for the inclusion of emblems among the commonplace-book's stock of devices and designs for amplifying persuasive discourse. They make only sporadic appearances, and once translated to the commonplace-book they are no longer pictures that speak, but texts that paint and expound. They

²⁵ Janus Gruterus, *Florilegii magni [...] tomus secundus*, 149; some of the emblems Gruterus quotes from Lebey de Batilly must come from a later, expanded version of the *Emblemata*, as he gives them numbers well in excess of the 58 contained in the 1596 edition.

have gained their right of admission to the data-bank that holds in handy form the cultural capital of Western Europe, but they are only there because they can be absorbed into its repertory of rhetorical ornamentation, taking their place among metaphors, symbols, and similitudes. The unique and characteristic style of art that is the emblem book has no entry into the commonplace-book of words.

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Claude Mignault, Erasmus and Simon Bouquet: The Function of the Commentaries on Alciato's Emblems

DANIEL RUSSELL

Commentaries on Alciato's emblems began to proliferate almost as soon as they were organized into commonplace divisions beginning with the Macé Bonhomme edition in 1548. The first commentaries were no more than short notes by Barthélemy Aneau, long thought to be the editor responsible for arranging the emblems in *loci communes*, in his French translation of the emblems in 1549.¹ In 1556, Jean de Tournes published somewhat longer Latin commentaries by Sebastien Stockhamer, but only for the 113 emblems that constituted the first book of de Tournes's two-book editions of Alciato's emblems. Two editions of the Stockhamer commentaries were published in 1556, one with titles, pictures, and commentaries only; the other, with titles, pictures, and epigrams as well as commentaries. The next set of commentaries was composed by Claude Mignault and published first by Denys du Pré in 1571.

Mignault's commentaries knew an enormous success. They were expanded on several occasions, and condensed for still other editions. One version or another was reprinted more than thirty times before the end of the eighteenth century. Mignault's commentaries were incorporated into the magisterial edition by Thuillius which Tozzi published in Padua in 1621; this is generally considered to be the *editio optima*, but Mignault's work was nevertheless still reprinted many times, long after the Tozzi edition had established itself as the standard. What, we may ask, was the appeal of these erudite commentaries? And what use did they serve for an audience that must, by the seventeenth century, have known and understood Alciato's emblems very well? As I hope to show in what follows, they must have helped turn the *Emblematum liber* into a commonplace book for the schools and, equally important, they must have served poets as a storehouse of images, anecdotes, and motifs. This explains why the reorganization of the emblems in 1548 was so important for the future history of the emblem genre: the reordering made it possible for each emblem to serve as a 'place' in which to collect

¹ See Adams, Rawles and Saunders (F. 026). This edition and other translations were published by Bonhomme and Rouille. For the arrangement of the emblems this way, see now Claudie Balavoine. I would like to thank my colleague Bruce Venarde for his help with some of the translations.

commonplace wisdom on the subject of the emblem. As such, it called for the kind of commentary Claude Mignault was to provide.

Claude Mignault was born in Talant near Dijon in the late 1530s and was schooled, or so he tells us,² by the Benedictines in that city. A copy of one of the Lyons editions of Alciato's emblems came into his hands, probably in the 1550s, and the emblems fascinated him. But they contained many perplexing passages that he was encouraged to set about clarifying, using mainly other texts by Alciato — since his library of ancient sources was severely limited. We know further that he arrived in Paris in 1567, and began teaching at the Collège de Reims in 1570. By that time he was assembling a collection of his commentaries, and friends encouraged him to publish them with Christopher Plantin. Plantin was apparently enthusiastic about the project and even began work on it, but was overwhelmed with other projects and set it aside. So Mignault came to publish them in Paris with Dion à Prato, or Denys du Pré, in 1571. Expanded versions of his commentaries began to appear in editions of Alciato's emblems by Plantin, beginning in Antwerp in 1573, and his activity as a commentator and theorist of the emblematic forms continued at least until the 1590s.

While Mignault did acknowledge knowing the commentaries of Aneau and Stockhamer, he did not mention the commentaries of the Spaniard Francisco Sanchez de La Brozas, whose annotations were published by Guillaume Rouille only in 1573. After Mignault's death in 1606, his commentaries were incorporated into the work of other scholars, most notably Thuillius's vast edition. Mignault's commentaries saw well over 20 editions before Tozzi's edition, while those of Stockhamer saw only five or six and those of Sanchez de Las Brozas, only one. It would appear that Mignault made little use of the other commentaries in his own work: those of Aneau were too short to have much to say and seemed to be aimed at a less erudite audience than the one Mignault was seeking; Mignault expresses a low opinion of Stockhamer's work and his commentaries were fairly well formed before he could have come into contact with those of Sanchez de Las Brozas.

The commentary to 'Prudentes' (18) gives a good idea how Mignault developed his commentaries over the years, but mainly between 1571 and 1577. This emblem is fairly typical with its Janus heads looking in two directions and free-floating in the white space of the page as if it were a

² For biographical details and Mignault's account of how he came to know the emblems, see *Omnia Andreae Alciati V. C. Emblemata* (Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1574) 13-28, but especially 17-18. It is interesting to note that, in these pages too, Mignault provides the material for delimiting the emblem as a genre by his list of other authors who have created works similar to that of Alciato. Among them, he notes Guillaume de La Perrière's *Morosophie*, Barthélemy Aneau's *Picta poesis*, Pierre Coustau, Hadrianus Junius and Joannes Sambucus (p. 24).

hieroglyph detached from any syntagm. This *pictura* is followed by a Latin quatrain, and it is an especially interesting example for seeing how Mignault worked, in part because it is one of those emblems that Stockhamer did not comment on. So Mignault's annotations are neither influenced by, nor a reaction to, any earlier work. In the the 1574 edition,³ however, the emblem has been labeled a *Problema*, no doubt following Aneau's editions of the late 1540s and 1550s, and Plutarch's lead, as Thuillius has noted. Aneau's short comment on this emblem reads as follows: 'La Sapience est au chef, & Pource l'homme a deux testes, represente le sage: qui ha memoire du passé & providence de l'avenir'.

By the 1573-74 editions, Mignault's commentary begins this way:

Iani bicipitium quamplurimi ad solertiam prudentiamque regis referunt: siquidem prudentis est praeterita nosse, futuris vero multo ante providere, significavit Persius: [...].

(Many ascribe the two-headedness of Janus to the intelligence and wisdom of the king; if indeed it is a trait of a wise man to know things past, how much more so to anticipate the future, as Perseus indicated [...]).

The marginal comment accompanying this passage reads 'Pier li. 32 Hiero'. suggesting that Mignault was following Valeriano here. In fact, Mignault is simply referring to other Janus lore concerning not only two-headed, but also three- and four-headed creatures. This material would not finally be incorporated into the commentary until the Thuillius/Tozzi edition of 1621.

Then after a supporting passage quoted from Terence's *The Brothers*, Mignault continues:

Hoc de figmento multi poetae luserunt quorum alii ad anni principium, alii ad regis curam et consilium providum referunt. Ovid Fastor. 6 '— videt Ianus quae post sua terga geruntur'. Sed maxime in primo ubi faciei duplicis rationes adfert, nempe quod ferum et sylvestrem cultum in civilem mutarit, vel quod pater Graecae et Latinae gentes fuerit.

(Many poets have played on this image, some of whom ascribe it to the beginning of the year, others to the cares and wisdom of the king to see ahead. Ovid, Fasti 6 'Janus sees what's going on behind his back' — but especially in the first when he explains the reasons for the double face,

³ Bibliographical descriptions of the 1573 edition suggest that it is identical to that of 1574.

either because he had changed the wild sylvan cult of his men into a civic one or because he was thought to be the father of the Greek and Latin races).

By 1591 the commentary was considerably longer, and had been somewhat rearranged.⁴ The marginal comment next to the first passage has been changed to 'Ianus biceps cur' perhaps to render the classifying label 'Problema' superfluous; in any event, it has by now disappeared. Mignault had never used very many of Aneau's labels, and by 1591 the ones he did use had mostly been dropped. The two reasons for equating Janus with the prince adduced at the end of the preceding quotation from 1574 have been moved to the beginning of the commentary, presumably in recognition of a change of heart concerning their importance: 'Ianium biformentem seu bicipitem veteres quidem plastae et pictores effinxerunt, vel quod ferinum et silvestrem cultum suorum hominum in civilem mutavit, vel quod pater Graeciae et Latinae creditur' (Certain ancient sculptors portrayed Janus as double or two-headed, either because he changed the wild sylvan cult of his men into a civic cult). Mignault goes on then to expand his commentary on this emblem, but, interestingly, most of the references to ancient authors are already to be found in the earlier version: Ovid, Terence, Macrobius, Crinitus, Plutarch. His only addition to this list is Theodorus Canterus, a modern.

But this expansion includes material that was already prepared in 1573 and was printed in a section entitled *Supplementa* at the end of the volume (pp. 521-559). This section contains similar additions to some 90 of the commentaries. In the case of 'Prudentes', the addition comes from Plutarch's *Roman Inquiries* and is backed up by a long quote in Greek from Plutarch himself. Basically, Plutarch's position here is that perhaps the two-headed Janus refers to the Greeks who came out from Thessaly into Italy and civilized the barbarians. So, as Mignault says, this is not much different from what he had already exposed. One characteristic of these 'supplements' is the frequent introduction of long quotes, sometimes in Greek. While we do find such quotes in the original commentaries, they are less common, and are more often simply summarized. In later editions some of these additions were incorporated, unmodified, into the text of the commentary, as here in 'Prudentes'. However, in another emblem we are about to look at, 'Prudentes vino abstinent' (24), the addition is combined with more new material, and it is integrated into the text in a more complicated way. 'Prudentes' ends with a

⁴ The text of the commentaries remained substantially unchanged after the major expansion of 1577.

short new passage adding the reference to Canterus, and the explanation of the word 'sannas' that ends the commentary in 1573-1574.

These commentaries provided poets and other authors with material much like other commonplace books, including Erasmus's *Adages*. The emblem 'Prudentes vino abstinent' (24) is particularly interesting in this regard because the late sixteenth-century French poet, Simon Bouquet, drew heavily on Mignault's commentary to turn Alciato's Latin distich into a French sonnet. By the time Simon Bouquet began to compose his 'imitations et traductions' of more than a hundred emblems by Alciato around 1590,⁵ the sonnet had become the standard short verse form in French. After some attempts at sonnets with a decasyllabic line in the late 1540s and the early 1550s, French poets turned to the twelve-syllable *alexandrin*, and it quickly became the standard after 1555. Eventually, the sonnet in *alexandrins* emerged as the classic French form for short poems. Bouquet's choice of form, then, is quite interesting, for it brings the emblem into the realm of literature for the first time in France. At the same time, however, the form created something of a problem for Bouquet because it was often difficult to stretch Alciato's distichs and quatrains into full-bodied sonnets. His solution in many cases was to turn to Mignault's commentaries for additional material to fill the sonnet space.

But the construction of Mignault's commentary on this emblem is interesting in itself because of the way it works to reorient the meaning of the emblem, as we are about to see in Bouquet's adaptation. First, we note that, following comments on the epigram that situate Alciato's most obvious sources, as he often does, Mignault begins a passage of documentation and expanded interpretation, before explaining the text line by line at the very end. Sometimes, Mignault works the other way around, with the explanation preceding the documentation and generalizing commentary. After 1573-74, Mignault added a reference to Pindar and another to Aristophanes' *The Wasps*, possibly taken from Erasmus's *Adages*, which Mignault had helped to edit for Froben in 1571. He goes on to explain that Cicero advances the notion that nature will quickly show itself when attempts are made to hide it. Then he returns to his original commentary, just as Montaigne inserts additional material into an essay, and then returns, seamlessly, to his original text.

⁵ In the manuscript collection of Bouquet's compositions at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (ms. fr. 19.143), the emblems are organized in the following way. At the top of each recto we find an emblem picture taken from the Marnef/Cavellat edition of 1583. Titles have been cut away because each title in that edition is accompanied by an emblem number. But these numbers do not correspond to the order in Bouquet's collection which follows that of the two-book editions of the emblems initiated by Jean de Tournes in the late 1540s. The collection remained unpublished until Catharine Randall and I edited it for the series *AMS Studies in the Emblem* in 1996.

Here as elsewhere, Mignault's commentary can be divided into three parts: the *fons emblematis*, as he sometimes calls it, that gives proximate sources; a line-by-line explanation of the emblem text; and what Stephen Bann once called 'documentation' (Abrioux, 192; cf. Bann, 115). This documentation turns the emblem into an organizational site or pretext for accumulating commonplace passages and anecdotes on the theme of the emblem, and as such it suggests other interpretations. Much of this 'documentation' is to be found in the later additions to the commentaries. But more than just a collection of commonplaces around a theme, this model permits Mignault in fact to shift the emphasis, as in this emblem, or redirect it to some other general moral truth.

It is fair then to ask what Mignault's motivation might have been in making these additions. It is true that the longer commentaries provided an author like Bouquet with more options in working variations on Alciato's emblems. But what they show especially well is that readers were beginning to take new liberties with a given text. They could now venture to interpret an emblem for use in their own manner, and no longer hesitated to make associations that might seem to have no particular authorization in the original text. There were certainly pedagogical and rhetorical reasons as well for accumulating the stuff of a copious rhetorical presentation. We know that the composition of emblems for rhetorical ends later became a common exercise in early modern schools.⁶

This new freedom suggested to the reader by Mignault's accumulated documentation is part of the long history of commentary that runs from medieval exegesis to modern literary criticism (Mathieu-Castellani). The freedom that Mignault may have unwittingly provided for his readers is very different from the formulaic use of Psalm texts, for example, that had been quoted to diverse ends since Augustine, and continued to be adapted to the expression of contemporary concerns well into the Renaissance. To commemorate Francis I's victorious return from the battle of Marignan in 1516, for example, Louise de Savoye commissioned Godefroy le Batave to create an illuminated manuscript based on Psalm 26 (BNF, ms. fr. 2088). There, each verse of the Psalm labels a section of commentary that turns the verse itself into a comment on the battle (Russell 1995, 90).

Alciato made use of this same kind of freedom of interpretation, but each emblem used only one of many possible alternative interpretations. Mignault, perhaps unwittingly, took this liberty one step further in his documentation. For there he proposed a variety of equally valid *rapprochements* and interpretations that often had nothing to do with the

⁶ See for example, Porteman and van Vaecck.

emblem proper but could be, in his words, 'turned' ('torquere') or 'transferred,' 'transported' ('transfere') to new uses. This variety of choices offered to the reader must have encouraged a new freedom among readers, and indeed, it actually forced readers to make choices.

There may, however, have been more mundane commercial reasons too for Mignault's ongoing enlargement of the commentaries. In a recent book on Montaigne, George Hoffman has made a strong case that Montaigne expanded the text of his *Essais* in good measure to protect a publisher whose *privilege* was about to expire. Privileges and the monopoly they permitted expired quite quickly, as early as seven years from the date of issue. The Parisian *parlement* decreed in April, 1578, that a *privilege* could not be prolonged unless substantial additions or modifications were made to the text. Hoffman buttressed his argument concerning the reasons for expanding a text with similar examples of such an expansion or modification of texts by Erasmus and Ronsard (108-129).

In the early 1580s Plantin clearly had a problem. While he was moving for a short period to Protestant Leiden and was trying to preserve his contacts with the Catholic church (Voet, I: 105-113), his *privilege* for the emblems with commentaries by Mignault was expiring. As Florence Vuilleumier Laurens has pointed out, Mignault, in a letter to Plantin, dated 26 August 1583, warns him of competition in Paris and makes it clear that the Marnef/Cavellat edition of that year – one of the two that we know Simon Bouquet used – was a pirated edition, issued a mere 17 days after the expiration of Plantin's *privilege*:

Quant est du commentaire entier je l'ay redressé tout de nouveau, et voudrois bien qu'entre cy et trois mois eussiez loisir de le r'imprimer, desirant le vous remettre entre les mains, premier que noz corsaires s'en emparent. Estant de jour à aultre adverti qu'aulcuns d'icy et de Lyon taschent de s'en ayder, comme a desja fait un gendre de Marnef par trop imprudemment et sans m'en avoir jamais dit un seul petit mot, ce que pour vérité vous testifiera le sire Somnius mostre bon voisin [...] Je n'oublieray a dire que Marnef et son gendre m'ont fait un lasche tort duquel j'auray toujours ma raison, et si mon *privilege* n'esut esté expiré de 17 jours seullement, j'eusse fait saisir tous ces livres imprimez jouxte vostre derniere edition (quoted in Vuilleumier Laurens, 158).⁷

⁷ See also S. F. Will, 'Correspondence inédite de Christophe Plantin,' *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 12 (1933) 124-132. Leon Voet believes that the Latin version of this letter was probably ante-dated from late 1583.

Clearly, Mignault felt attacked even if Plantin did not. That would explain in some part Mignault's translation with its abridged commentaries in French and Latin, the 'editio compendiosa' of 1583-84, published by Jean Richer and reissued in 1587.⁸ Plantin, for his part, published the Latin version only of this *editio compendiosa* in 1583 and again in 1584, with *privilege*, while the French translation probably did not appear until 1584. Plantin's heirs took up the publication of the *Emblemata* again in 1591 with a new set of illustrations and the now standard commentaries of Mignault. It would appear that the Plantin publishing house was, by then, determined to conquer the market as they issued this new octavo edition at the same time as a re-edition of the Latin *editio compendiosa* in an in-16 format. Perhaps they were successful in a way because, if we look at later octavo editions, like that of the heirs of Guillaume Rouille in 1600, we find that format of the text, and the text itself, are almost identical to that of Plantin's octavo edition of 1591.

Who, we may ask, read Mignault's commentaries on Alciato's emblems, and why? More broadly, how, we may ask, did the commentaries make the emblems function in relation to other rhetorical and literary forms? These questions seem to require answers that set the emblem in a new and somewhat different light. First, Mignault was a jurist with a strong interest in pedagogy—very much like Alciato himself. His commentaries, as Florence Vuilleumier Laurens has shown so interestingly, were the fruit, or possibly the residue, of the course on the emblems that he taught in Paris in 1570. His commentaries were first published by Denis du Pré (Dion à Prato) in 1571. At the same time, Mignault was working on an edition of Erasmus's *Adages*, published by Froben in 1571. Furthermore, if we look at the format of that first edition of his commentaries we see that it was published in a square quarto volume, the format used at the time for school texts. Not surprisingly, the copy of this edition at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France is annotated, as if with a teacher's notes, giving further references and philological commentary on the words of Alciato's text. All this added material prepared a field in which students, poets and, later, preachers could work at building their own new emblems.

The role of the commentaries seems to be more documentary than explanatory. That is, the emblem seems to serve as a locus for gathering a whole category of commonplace sayings, proverbs and quotations, and a high percentage of the material of the commentaries is not explanatory at all. This is particularly clear in the additions Mignault makes in the later editions of Alciato's emblems.

⁸ The catalogue of the BNF dates their copy as having been published by Richer in 1583, but in fact the title page is missing from this copy, and that dating seems to be taken from the *privilege*. It is most probably a copy of the 1584 edition. See Adams, Rawles and Saunders.

The emblems have often been compared to Erasmus's adages, most especially in the work of Virginia Woods Callahan. To understand the real relation between the emblems and Erasmus's adages, however, we must consider the discussion of the adages along side the commentaries, rather than compare the adages to the emblems themselves. That is, it may be more appropriate and interesting for the history of reading, and indeed for the history of emblematics, to understand Erasmus's explanations of the adages in parallel with the relation of Mignault's commentaries to Alciato's emblems.

My example of how the adages would then be put to work comes from a device that Sully made for Henry IV to serve as a *revers de médaille* on *jetons* he was planning to give the king as a New Year's gift in 1604. I have explained elsewhere (Russell 1985, 41-42) how the *Tot vota meorum* device derives from Erasmus's *Zopiri talenta* adage (II.x.64; *CWE* 34:152), quite possibly through the intermediary of the device of Philip II of Spain, *Tot zopiro* with an open pomegranate, that we find illustrated and explained in Typotius's *Symbola divina et humana* of 1601 (Pl. 32). The two devices derive not from the adage itself, but from Erasmus's commentary on it. There, Erasmus tells the story of Zopirus, a faithful friend of King Darius, who disfigured himself until he was without a nose and ears and was bleeding so profusely that the Babylonians believed his master must have treated him very cruelly indeed, and that Zopirus must have some serious grievance against Darius that they could exploit. Zopirus then proceeded to betray their city to Darius. Some time later, when a member of his entourage gave Darius a pomegranate, he remarked that he would like to have as many Zopiruses as there are grains in a pomegranate.⁹ But Erasmus's commentary includes another anecdote about Darius who was also reported to have remarked that he preferred to have one healthy Zopirus than to capture one hundred Babylons.¹⁰ We can imagine that the device might also have been constructed upon this anecdote, and if so, the fact that it was built around the other suggests that a choice needed to be made by the reader or inventor of the device.

This freedom of choice was certainly implicit in emblems from the very beginning, at least for those who knew the traditional sense of the image that was being used in a different way in a particular emblem. But the possibility of choice remained implicit until the commentaries of Aneau, Stockhamer, Sanchez de Las Brozas, and, especially, Mignault began to make that choice explicit, indeed obligatory for anyone wishing to use the emblem lore being discussed. The emblem itself used only one of the possibilities at a time, and

⁹ 'Et oblato malogranato, tantum optavit sibi Zopyrorum, quantum ibi granorum inesset, ut narrat Herodotus libro tertio'.

¹⁰ 'Unde Darium dixisse ferunt, se unum Zopirum integrum malle, quam centum Babylonas capere'.

while translations were always possible, and indeed had been made by Jehan Lefevre and Wolfgang Hunger as early as 1536 and 1542, 'imitations' of the kind Bouquet also made were not frequent until the last quarter of the sixteenth century. By then, Alciato had become a rhetorical model, along side other great Neo-Latin classics such as Jean Dorat and Marc-Antoine Muret, to be imitated by aspiring poets like Jean de La Jessée (Russell 1991). Concurrently, and in a certainly not unrelated development, Mignault's commentaries were making a new body of material readily available and forced, or least suggested, possible choices to the 'imitator'.

Returning to Simon Bouquet and his use of the commentaries, we see that he sometimes filled the sonnet space with personal applications of the emblem's general message. This use of the form to speak of something other than love was still relatively uncommon in France even though there was some precedent for using subject-matter from everyday life in Joachim Du Bellay's *Regrets* of 1558. Bouquet's sonnets include many thinly veiled references to personal problems or family tensions, and the direct application of certain emblems to political events of the day. The emblem 'Aliquid mali propter vicinum malum' (29v, 92-93)¹¹ is addressed 'A un certain hobereau danjou' who wants Bouquet to buy a property close to his, something Bouquet is reluctant to do for fear of his dangerous and untrustworthy neighbor's power. Such highly particularized applications of the emblems were often indicated by dedications as in this example or in 'Ex pace ubertas' where the dedicatee is the king Henry IV (9v, 58).

From time to time, the possibility of such a personal application was suggested by Claude Mignault's commentaries on Alciato's emblems. In emblem 193, 'In foecunditatem sibi ipsi damnosam', for example, Bouquet follows Alciato in a leisurely development through the first eleven lines, but then he applies the unhappy situation of the nut-tree, as Virginia Callahan calls it in her translation of this emblem, to parents treated badly by their offspring:

Ainsi meint pere au lieu de recevoir loyer
 Dauoir nourry les siens ainsi que le noyer
 Nen recoit miserable a la parfin qu'outrage (20r, 77).

It is not unlikely that Bouquet could have made this connection without help, but Mignault provides at least some authority for making it in his remark:

¹¹ In citing Bouquet's sonnets, the first reference is to the manuscript leaf, the second to the page or pages in my edition.

Quod certe transfertur in parentes, qui liberos habent usque adeo perditos et profligates, ut damnum atrocissimum et infamiam iis arcessant, a quibus sunt molliter educati' (Alciato 1591, 675-676).

(which certainly is transferred in meaning to parents who have children so lost and corrupted that they bring violent and dishonorable harm to those who have educated them so gently).

To take another example, Alciato's 'Parvam culinam duobus ganeonibus non sufficere' emblem (94) is composed of two independent distichs, each built around a slightly different version of the same proverbial motif. In fact, the title and the two distichs mainly present three similar proverbs from Erasmus's adages. The two distich proverbs are 'et unum / Arbustum geminos non alit erithacos' (and one tree will not feed two robins) and 'unoque resident/ Arbusto geminae non bene ficedulae' (two fig-peckers do not live happily in one tree).¹² What is not immediately apparent is that Alciato hid another of Erasmus's proverbs in the first line of the second distich: 'In tenui spes nulla lucri est' (There is no hope of gain where the means are small). Mignault is the one who points out the connection in his commentary; we find this proverb in Erasmus's discussion of the adage *Tenuem nectis* (III.vii.45; Erasmus 1575, 720). Mignault also interprets one of Alciato's proverbs in a way that leads into Bouquet's personalized subject: 'Ut unum arbustum duos erithacos non alit: sic unum regnum feliciter a duobus principis administrari non potest' (just as one tree will not feed two robins, so one kingdom cannot be happily administered by two princes; Mignault 1591, 346).

Bouquet changes the title in his sonnet to 'Ne sarrester quen bon lieu' (16r, 70-71). The story he tells is one of disappointed hopes when he once put himself in the service of a 'prince malaisé':

Il maduint vne foyz destre vn an a la suite
Dun prince malaisé, esperant dacquerir
Du bien en le seruant, mais je puisse mourir
Si jy gaignay jamais la valleur d'une pitte (70, ll.1-4).

Obviously, it is not a question of two princes here, but it is a matter of 'tenuous means' And it is likely that Mignault's commentary on the emblem brought this unhappy anecdote to Bouquet's mind. For Alciato's emblem contributes only two lines of rhetorical illustration in the form of the two proverbs developed in the distichs. It seems highly probable that Mignault's

¹² See *Adages*, II, ii, 22 and II, ii, 24 (*CWE*, 33: 87-88).

commentary gave Bouquet the impetus to connect the anecdote of unrewarded service with Alciato's emblem warning that a single kitchen cannot feed two gluttons:

Vn bon cuer ne doit point en lieu bas sarrester,
Joint qun oz ne scauroit deux dogues sustanter,
Comme a ces deux oyseaux ne suffit ce branchage (71, ll. 9-11).

Even though Bouquet had considerable personal material to recount, it was nevertheless often difficult to fill the 168 syllables of a sonnet in *alexandrins* simply with the material Alciato had left and what personal reflections it inspired. From time to time, then, Bouquet turned to the resource of Claude Mignault's commentaries for other kinds of additional material. Bouquet was far from the only poet to have such recourse. Michael Bath (78) and Mason Tung have observed that Geoffrey Whitney used Mignault for some of the explanatory marginal references accompanying his own emblems. Other poets too probably used Mignault's commentaries this way when they worked variations on the themes of Alciato's emblems.

This brings us back to Alciato's 'Prudentes vino abstinent' emblem (24) that Bouquet expanded from a distich into a sonnet by using Mignault's commentaries in a very interesting way. In his *editio compendiosa* of 1584 Mignault translated the title into French as 'Les bien-aduisez fuyent ebriété,' while Virginia Callahan read it as 'Prudent men abstain from wine' in Peter Daly's edition of the emblems. Why, then, do we find 'Les femmes saiges doibuent fuyr le vin' in Bouquet's 'translation'? In general, Bouquet's text here (25v, 86) is an expanded version of Alciato's, but he needs to rely on Mignault for filler, as in the first tercet which reads 'O qua Romme autrefois la coustume feut belle/ De deffendre le vin sur peine criminelle/ (Comme estant vne peste) au sexe feminin:' There is no reference to this law in Alciato's distich, but Mignault, citing Cato, does refer to it in his commentary.

The only allusion to women in the emblem proper is through the personification of Pallas Athena. As in Bouquet, Alciato's emblem turns on a question addressed by the 'arbor Palladis' to the vine, and there, the tree asserts that 'virgo fugit Bromien'. The reference here is certainly to the 'virgin' Pallas Athena. But Mignault shifts the reference of this word from a personification to a type, as seems to be clear in his French translation where he reads 'virgo' as 'La pucelle chaste et pudique' who flees wine. This expression could be read as a circumlocution for Pallas, of course, but since it was not specific enough to refer with absolute certainty to Pallas alone, and since the French translation was probably intended for the less classically literate French readers of the time, we may assume that these readers were intended to understand it as a reference

to a type. So, the 'virgo' undergoes a metamorphosis from a fragile personification into a type who is the target of the Roman law alluded to by Mignault in his commentary, but nowhere to be found in Alciato's epigram.

The passage from men to women that Bouquet completes depends entirely on the way one reads the last phrase of Alciato's distich, 'virgo fugit Bromien': is it a statement about the virgin Pallas, or is it an aphorism of general import, referring to all wise women? In either case, the allusion is to be found neither in Alciato, nor in Mignault's explanation of this phrase, where he simply says that it means 'abhorret a vino'. Bouquet uses Mignault's implicit transfer from a personification to the characterization of a type in his documentary examples to complete the change in the title and consequently the direction and meaning of the emblem by privileging certain elements from Mignault's commentary to complete his sonnet.

Even then, Bouquet still needs more material to finish the sonnet, and he turns now to one of Erasmus's adages to develop his last tercet: 'Donc puis que nous voyons limpudique Cythere/ Mesme se refroidir perdant ce Thebain pere/ La chaste le doit fuir comme vn mortel venin'. The allusion is most likely to the Latin proverb 'Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus' (*Adages*, II.iii.97; *CWE* 33:187); following the logic of this saying, then, the chaste woman flees wine.¹³

In 'Impossible' (59), Bouquet filled some of his sonnet space by continuing the rhetorical exercise suggested by Alciato's emblem, that of compiling a list of impossible things, a storehouse of commonplaces to provide a source of rhetorical *copia* that could be used in part or in whole to reinforce a discursive argument. Only lines 1 ('Tu blanchirois plustost le more lybien') and 3 ('De la nuict faire vn jour te seroit plus facile'), the ones asserting the impossibility of making the More white or changing night to day, can be found in Alciato's distich (43v, 116), and the emblem lacked an illustration in the Plantin editions before 1577. The rest of the sonnet presents other examples of *adynata* or the moral considerations that they could be used to illustrate, and some were possibly suggested by Mignault's commentaries: the pot that retains the odor of the first thing it contained or teaching the ass to take the bit and run. But this last example could just as well have been taken from Erasmus or from one of Barthélemy Aneau's emblems from the *Picta poesis* of 1552, cited *in extenso* in Mignault's commentary.

Lines 5 and 6 of Bouquet's sonnet are the last in a series of *adynata* and lead into a variation on Aneau's emblem:

¹³ Hendrick Goltzius turned this adage into a real emblem in a painting now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Bref tu ferois plustost dun asne arcadien
 Vn coursier genereux, que jamais rendre habille
 Celuy qui de nature est despirt indocile (116).

Whether Bouquet took his lead from Mignault or Aneau, Aneau's emblem is very important here because, as in Aneau's emblem, the theme of the tercets can be summed up in line nine: 'L'art corrompt peu souvent la mauuaise nature' which is very close to Aneau's French title, 'Art ne change nature' (*Imagination poetique*, p. 74). Finally, at the very end of his sonnet, Bouquet turns back to other proverbs expressing the impossible, and ending with 'On ne peut dun Buzard faire un bon esperuier'. Throughout the theme remains 'Ne faut tenter limpossible' and Bouquet has chosen selectively from the dozens of adages he could have found under this heading in Erasmus's thematic index.

In summary, Mignault's commentaries may be divided into three parts: 1. sources or 'fons emblematis'; 2. explanation; and 3. documentation. They provide models for more focused moral application of the emblem analogies (Bath, 78-79), and they suggest other possible analogies as well. This added material, the commonplace documentation, forces the reader who is actively engaged in the reading and writing process to make choices. This reader/writer may be a schoolboy or a poet or a preacher, for the commentaries must have been taken as a rhetorical manual. Mignault was clearly the greatest of the early commentators, and while the fashion for commenting the emblems seemed to wane after Tozzi's *editio optima* of 1621, the tradition continued in manuscript form into the eighteenth century. We find copies of Alciato's emblems containing manuscript *rapprochements* with La Fontaine and other fabulists as late as the second half of the eighteenth century: the tradition only ended, it would appear, with the end of the *ancien régime*.

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Hadriani Iunii Medici Emblemata (1565)*

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In a way, the rich tradition of emblematic literature in the Netherlands had a direct link with its Italian origins. The first Dutch author who composed a collection of emblems and had it published in 1565 had personally made his acquaintance with the father of the genre, Andrea Alciato, and may even have been slightly involved in the publication of the 1542 Paris editions of Alciato's emblems by Christian Wechel, as we will see below. This author was the humanist considered by some of his flattering contemporary colleagues to be the heir of his unique compatriot Erasmus of Rotterdam. His name is Hadrianus Junius.¹

The Author: Education and Initiation in Philological Scholarship

Hadrianus Junius (Adriaan de Jonghe, 1511-1575) was born in the small town of Hoorn in the Northern part of the Dutch province Noord-Holland. Therefore, as a humanist, he labelled himself *Hornanus*. His father Petrus was

* I am indebted to Mrs Jane Jones (Oegstgeest) for her valuable suggestions with respect to my English.

¹ For a short biography and bibliography of Junius, cf. C.L. Heesakkers, 'Junius (Hadrianus) (1511-1575)', in: C. Nativel (ed.), *Centuria Latinae. Cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières offertes à Jacques Chomarat* (Geneva, 1997) 449-455. The following abbreviated titles of works by Junius are quoted in this contribution:

— *Animadversa* 1556: *Hadriani iunii Hornani, Medici Animadversorum libri sex omnigenae lectionis thesaurus, in quibus infiniti pene autorum loci corriguntur et declarantur, nunc primum et nati, et in lucem aediti. Eiusdem De coma commentarium quo haud scio an quicquam extet in eo genere vel eruditius vel locupletius, sive historiarum cognitionem, sive lectionis multifariae divitias spectes* (Basle, 1556).

— *Batavia* 1588: *Hadriani Iunii Hornani, Medici, Batavia. In qua praeter gentis & insulae antiquitatem, originem, decora, mores, aliaque ad eam historiam pertinentia, declaratur quae fuerit vetus Batavia, quae Plinio, Tacito, & Ptolemaeo cognita: quae item genuina inchoata Francorum nationis fuerit sedes* (Leiden, 1588).

— *Emblemata* 1565: *Hadriani Iunii Emblemata, Ad D. Arnoldum Cobelium. Eiusdem Aenigmatum Libellus, Ad D. Arnoldum Rosenbergum* (Antwerp, 1565).

— *Epistolae* 1652: *Hadriani Iunii Epistolae, Quibus accedit Eiusdem vita & Oratio De Artium liberalium dignitate. Nunquam ante edita* (Dordrecht, MDLII [=1652]).

— *Epistolae* 1839: *Hadriani Iunii Epistolae selectae*, edited by P. Scheltema (Amsterdam-Leipzig, 1839).

an important member of the town's administration and took part in several missions to Denmark and Sweden.²

Not much is known about Junius' early education. There is an undated letter obviously directed to a former teacher. It is supposed that this was a certain Jacob Meyster, a schoolmaster in Haarlem. The letter mentions another teacher, a physician Johannes Gallus, 'Medicum eximium doctoremque meum Joannem Gallum'.³ The Christian name of this person may be a mistake, for in his historical work *Batavia*, Junius honoured a Nicolaus Galius as having been his former teacher: 'Nicolaum Galium, pueritiae meae formatorem'. This Galius had been the spokesman for the best-known story Junius told in his *Batavia*, the attribution of the invention of book-printing to a citizen of Haarlem, Laurens Janszoon Coster.⁴ How successful Junius' storytelling was, is proved by the huge statue of this legendary Coster, which was erected in 1853 on the beautiful market square of the town on the occasion of the presumed fourth centenary of the invention.

The next certain date of Junius' life is 29 September 1534, when he appears to have been living in Louvain, where he took the university oath on behalf of a Dutch under-aged student, a native of Alkmaar near Junius' birthplace, Hoorn.⁵ If this would suggest that Junius at that date had already lived for a while in Louvain, I consider it not impossible, that he was hiding behind the name of *Adrianus Petri de Hoorne filius Petri*, who matriculated on 8 August 1532, although the addition *filius Petri* would then be superfluous.⁶ A long stay in Louvain is confirmed by his letter to a physician at Hoorn, written 'Lovanii ex meo Musaeo quinto Idus Maij', that is, on 11 June.⁷ Unfortunately, the indication of the year is missing. Junius informed the addressee of his decision to move back to his 'fatherland' ('patria') within six weeks 'with all his furniture'. He had had enough of Louvain and, moreover, he would like to follow Ulysses' example, 'to see the towns of many people and to learn their mind'.⁸

² *Epistolae* 1652, fol. *3v., reproducing Junius' epitaph for his father. The qualification 'Viro Consulari' seems to imply that Petrus had at some time been a *consul*, burgomaster.

³ *Epistolae* 1652, 47-50; the letter may have been written in 1547, cf. the two chronograms at 60, containing the year 1547 and written on the occasion of the Emperor Charles V's successful battle of Mülberg, 24 April of that year.

⁴ *Batavia* 1588, 256-257.

⁵ Cf. A. Schillings (ed.), *Matricule de l'université de Louvain IV* (Brussels, 1961) 108, no. 137: 'Gerardus Johannis de Alcmara, pro quo quia minor juravit Adrianus de Jonghe, Homensis'.

⁶ Cf. Schillings, *Matricule*, 74 no. 105.

⁷ Cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 362.

⁸ Cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 361: 'Statui et ego post sesquimensem repetere patriam cum omni suppellectile, spe mutandi regionem. animus enim fastidio Lovanii laborat adeo ut nihil supra; et certe praestat aliquando Ulyssem imitari πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰδεῖν ἄστυα καὶ νόον

Junius, in other words, was considering a *peregrinatio academica*. And indeed, his first letter, edited in two versions and containing both year and place, was written in Siena in 1538.⁹ He seems to have lived there in the company of a member of the Fugger family, Ulrich, still a boy, but nevertheless a Mecenat to the Dutch student.¹⁰ The next letters, fully dated, are from early 1540 and were written in Bologna. They contain some interesting information. In a letter sent to Nicolaus Poelenburg, dated 30 January, Junius wrote that he had been living in the family of a Count Pepoli, where he was holding an honourable and not too badly paid position; he was, however, preparing his doctorate; his ardent love of Italy had flagged and now he ardently desired to see France.¹¹ In a slightly different version of this letter, with a different addressee and date, Junius specified that he lived with the Pepoli family since 15 May.¹² It is possible that he held a position as a tutor in the family, since a letter, dated 9 January, with the inscription 'Joanni Pepolo Comiti', addresses him as 'juvenis clariss(ime)', whilst his father is mentioned as 'clarissimi tui patris comitis'.¹³ Obviously, Junius' patron encouraged his philological studies. Thus he helped Junius to get access to an important Eustathius manuscript.¹⁴

Soon after, on 24 February 1540, Junius' efforts were awarded with the double doctorate of medicine and philosophy. The University Reports have

γινώσκειν' (adaptation of Homer, *Od.* 1,3, with Junius' accents).

⁹ Cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 28-30 and 342-343.

¹⁰ Cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 278: 'Miscellaneorum libri aliquot forte [should be dedicated to] Hulrico Fuggcro, Mecoenati olim in Italia meo quum Senae ageret puer, cui commendatione tua charior notiorque fieri cupio'; *ibidem*, 164: '[...] eo magis quod Fuggeris olim addictus fuerim in Italia jamtum agens apud illustrem Udalricum Fuggerum, tum δωδεκαετη puerum, aut paulo majorem'.

¹¹ Cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 25-26: 'Apud Com. de Pepolis (id enim est gentis principem facile inter Bononienses locum obtinentis cognomen) luculenta profecto conditione nec adeo operosa, salarioque non poenitendo, victito, ubi etiam inter reliqua beneficia non in postremis ponendum fuerit, quod Comitiss ipsius in mensa dextrum latus claudere concedatur. [...] Friget interim ardens illud Italiae desiderium; Galliam totus anhelo. [...] Plura etsi velim non possum, urget enim hora qua in doctorum Senatu adesse debeo, uti de me Doctoratus titulo, quod felix faustumque sit, insigniendo statuatur. [...] Bononiae tertio Calend. Februar. MDXL'.

¹² Cf. *Epistolae* 1839, 18-19: Ludovico Carino; according to a note of the editor, the letter was dated 'Bononiae 3. Id. Febr. a. 1540', that is, 11 Februari, 1540.

¹³ Cf. *Epistolae* 1839, 1.

¹⁴ Cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 520: 'Eustathio, cujus in totam Iliada, ut fusissimos, ita longe doctissimos commentarios Bononiae perlegere contigit'; *Animadversa* 1556, 2,4, 75: 'nisi vitiosus fuerit codex manuscriptus, quem Bononiae utendum mihi impetrarat Comitum Pepolorum, principis in ea civitate familiae, benignitas'; 156: 'Hunc locum [a text of Hippocrates] tametsi ante annos quatuordecim Bononiae iam tum agentis mihi correctum [...]'; *Epistolae* 1839, 82: Junius sent to Plantin a manuscript copy of a work of Plethon he had made 25 years earlier in Bologna ('libellum ante XXV annos Bononiae a me descriptum').

commemorated his success as follows: 'D. Adrianus Junius Germanus in U(traque) C(ensura)'.¹⁵ Junius remembered the ceremony with piety and pride, celebrating the Bologna graduation being the most prestigious one, in a chapter of his later work *Animadversa* (1556), entitled: *Doctoralem auream conferendi ritus non multum diuersus a Graecorum agonibus*.¹⁶ Having acquired his degree, Junius now felt free to satisfy his longing for France. In 1541 he experienced 'le plaisir de se voir imprimé', for the Parisian printer Christian(us) Wechel(us) published his Latin translation of the small Greek text of Cassius Medicus, *De animalibus*. One of Junius' preserved letters is dated Paris, 20 December 1541, and other Parisian letters follow in January 1542.

Junius' Acquaintance with Alciato

Now, the last of the January letters is particularly interesting with respect to the present subject, for it is addressed to the inventor of the emblem, Andrea Alciato.¹⁷ The extensive, solemn, and flattering opening sentence of the letter

¹⁵ Cf. G. Bronzino, *Notitia doctorum sive catalogus doctorum qui in collegiis philosophiae et medicinae Bononiae laureati fuerunt ab anno 1480 ad annum 1800* (Milan, 1962) 30; Junius' compatriot and almost life-long friend Martinus Aedituus got his degree in Medicine on the same day: 'D. Martinus Aedituus in Medicina'.

¹⁶ Cf. *Animadversa* 1556, 5, 21, 247-249: 'Neque hoc aevo eadem ubivis locorum accepti honoris istius habetur ratio: imo, ut ingenuè dicam, primum locum, cum ob antiquitatis reverentiam, tum propter studiorum natalitia, Bononiensi Academiae uno ore omnes deferunt, cuius est ubique terrarum nominis dignitas, claritudinis fama, ut cacteras suo splendore facile obliteret'.

¹⁷ Cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 98-101; the Latin passages quoted in translation or paraphrased are the following: [98] 'Quoties animo mecum repeto, Alciato Iureconsultorum caput, suavis illas nostras apud te diatribas, quando nimirum Cornelius Pepolus et ego tuas Bononiae aedeis, Musarum vide[99]licet domicilium, frequentaremus subinde una: memet hercle mei poenitet, quod erudito colloquio tuo, quo animos omnium qui tuis [read: suis?] fruuntur auribus, pascis: quod venustate et leporibus, quibus omnia condis: quod acri tuo iudicio, [quod?] nusquam abest: quod denique invicta illa humanitate, qua neminem, vel mediocriter literis tinctum ab amicitia tua excludis, ipse doctissimus nimirum; frui negatum sit. [...] Itaque, ut ad id [100] quod primo loco propositum erat deveniam, sic habeto. Christianus Wechelus, typographus cumprimis sedulus (ut tibi perspectum et cognitum esse potest) et qui in conquirendis excudendisque melioris notae libris, multum ponit studii, totus in hoc est, ut tua foetura Emblematum, accessione illa non poenitenda, quam olim ad illum miseris, adaucta in publicum denuo prodeat. Quare is a me admonitus, quod variarum inscriptionum sylvam, quam videre mihi licuit, opus multae et lectionis et observationis, prae manibus habeas, singulari quadam inflammatus cupiditate erga eam operam, identidem institit, ut declarato suo in te studio per literas tecum agerem, ut si quid sit operosius recens ab indude profectum, sive etiam resartum quod publicare cogites (quando vero foecundum illud ingenium a coepto jam olim demerendae posteritatis praeclaro instituto cessare possit?) id ad se procurare digneris elegantioribus reddendum typis: interim dissimulanter se totum suaeque omnia tibi offerens. Id autem, quicquid sit, per veredarium istius impensis facile

informs us that Junius, together with Cornelio Pepoli, had frequently visited Alciato's house and extremely enjoyed their learned conversations: 'Everytime, Alciato, coryfee of the Jurists, I think back to our discussions we had at your place, when we, Cornelius Pepolus and I together time and again frequented your house at Bologna, that domicile of the Muses, I regret it so deeply, that it is denied to me to enjoy your learned conversation with which you nourish the minds of all those who listen to you, to enjoy the charm and wit with which you spice every subject, your sharp judgement which never is missing, finally your unsurpassed humanity, thanks to which you exclude nobody, not even one who is only moderately familiar with the literary arts, from your friendship, notwithstanding you yourself are extremely learned'. As a young man, Junius was of course proud of his acquaintance with the famous scholar, although his emphasis on the frequency of his visits may be exaggerated a little. Nevertheless, Junius must have formed for himself a clear idea of Alciato's vast scholarly production, his *Emblemata* included.

It is precisely this book that occasioned Junius' letter, which, after still more compliments, goes on as follows: 'So, to come to my main subject, I inform you that Christian Wechel, an extremely assiduous printer (as you will have perceived and know well), who spends much energy in acquiring and printing books of the best quality, has set himself the target, that your brainchild, the *Emblemata*, be published again, 'accessione illa non poenitenda, quam olim ad illum miseras, adaucta', extended with the 'not regrettable addition you sent him a long time ago'. This last part of the sentence is an evident reminder of the German translator's introductory letter to Wechel's 1542 Latin-German edition of Alciato's emblems. According to this introductory letter, dated 1 May, 1539, the translator, Wolphgang Hunger, had offered a partial translation to Wechel. Thereupon Wechel requested Hunger to finish his translation and, moreover, 'mittit Wechelus auctarium Emblematum non poenitendum ex Italia ab Alciato recens adlatum', he sent him an all but objectionable addition, recently brought from Italy thanks to Alciato.¹⁸ It appears very likely that Wechel had discussed the new edition with Junius, whose translation of Cassius he had published shortly before, and that he had shown him Hunger's letter and possibly also his translation. It seems that Wechel hoped for some collaboration by Alciato, maybe in the form of even more additions to the collection. This appears from Junius' remark that Alciato might be too occupied to help him, because of his work on a huge

commeare huc po[101]terit. Hanc nostram pro amico capite obtestationem non iniquo (qui tuus est candor et facilitus[!]) accipies animo. Vale Jurisconsultorum decus unicum et columnen. Lutetiae Parrhisiorum Idibus Januarijs 1542'.

¹⁸ Cf. *Clarissimi viri D. Andreae Alciati Emblematum libellus, vigilanter recognitus, et iam recens per Wolphgangum Hungerum Bauarum, rhythmis Germanicis versus* (Paris, 1542) 6.

number of various inscriptions, which Junius had been allowed to look at. With these words, Junius again seems to underline his easy access to Alciato's study when he lived in Bologna. This remark, Junius wrote to Alciato, immediately made Wechel eager to print any such number of inscriptions, or anything else that Alciato would like to have printed. It seems as if Wechel was in need of texts he could print. His planned editions of Alciato's *Emblemata*, as well as the opportunity of having a personal acquaintance with the author, suggested to him that he could find out, with the help of this acquaintance, whether the Italian scholar could furnish him with matters to be printed. This assumption seems to be confirmed by another letter of the same date, in which Junius confides to his addressee, his compatriot Arnoldus Monoxylyus Buscoducensis, whom he had met with at Bologna, that Wechel had pressed him with prayers and rewards, 'tum precibus, tum pretio', to ask this addressee that he send his Euthatius text to Wechel to have it printed.¹⁹ Junius also seems to have been the intermediate for Wechel's publication of some works by his compatriot Petrus Nannius of Alkmaar, Professor of Latin in Louvain in the years 1541-1542.²⁰ I have no indications whether Junius played any part in the editions of Alciato's *Emblemata* by Wechel of 1542.²¹

Further Career; Stay in England

Junius' next dated letters were written in London between 1545-1550. Junius had been invited by Bishop Edmund Bonner, whose promises were not, however, fulfilled, once Junius had arrived in England. However, he soon found another and even better patron, Henry Howard, Count of Surrey, son of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk.²² Junius served as physician to the family and tutor of Henry Howard's sons, but he was also able to continue his scholarly activities, which resulted in several publications. His first letter from

¹⁹ Cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 101-102, for Arnoldus Monoxylyus (Greek, after the Dutch Eyn-houts) or Paraxylus (Greek after Eynd-houdts; cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 311-314) Arlenius (from Aarle, not too far from 's-Hertogenbosch, Buscoducensis), see Frans Slits, *Laurentius Torrentinus. Drukker van Cosimo hertog van Florence, ±1500-1563* (Gemert, 1995) 21-33 and *passim*.

²⁰ Cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 97-98.

²¹ For Wechel's numerous editions of Alciato's *Emblemata* in those years, cf. A. Adams, S. Rawles, A. Saunders, *A Bibliography of French Emblem Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, vol. I (Geneva, 1999) 2-42.

²² Cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 178: 'Nam postquam Londinensis Episcopus [...] qui me splendidis pollicitationibus in Angliam quasi de naribus (juxta proverbium) trahebat, ob inclinata Regis in cum, per aulicos sorices, quibus hae res lucrosae sunt, studia: evocatus ego a vere Regio juvene Comite surreio Nordofolciae Reguli filio, et quidem opimiore praemio, locoque honoratiore habitus'.

London was sent to an Antwerp printer, together with the text of Curtius Rufus' *De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni*, which Junius had prepared for a new edition, and a dedicatory letter to Petrus Nannius (1546). A Latin translation of Plutarch's *Symposiaca Problemata* was printed in Paris (1547), though not by Wechel. Junius dedicated the work to Franciscus Delfus, the emperor Charles V's ambassador to King Henry VIII, thus following in the footsteps of Erasmus, who had dedicated his Latin translation of Plutarch's *De vitiosa verecundia* to Delfus twenty years earlier.²³

When Junius made his dedication to Delfus, his patron, Henry Howard, was in prison. One week later Henry VIII had him condemned to death and shortly thereafter executed. With this, Junius not only lost his patron, but also his income and his personal library.²⁴ However, Junius managed to find a new patron as well as the time to prepare his next work, a huge *Lexicon Graecolatinum denuo impressum*, printed in Basle in 1548. He dedicated this work to the new King Edward VI, addressing him as 'defensori fidei, et supremo Anglicanae a Christo capiti'.²⁵ This in itself correct title, given to Edward's father Henry VIII by Pope Leo X in 1521, and, after it had been withdrawn by Pope Paul III, restored to the king by the Parliament in 1544, was the reason why the book was later put on the Catholic *Index librorum prohibitorum*.²⁶

Back to Holland

Junius' last dated letter from London, 1 March 1550, was another dedication to the *Fidei defensor* Edward VI, preceding Junius' *De Anno et Mensibus* (Basle, 1553), a calendar containing great historical events on the days these had taken place, such as famous battles, treaties, birthdays or the days of deaths of princes and kings, among them Edward's own birthday, October 13. However, in this same year 1550 Junius settled in Holland. He accepted a nomination as rector of the Latin school at Haarlem, where he soon purchased a house. However, he did not enjoy teaching and tried to leave this 'molestissimum phrontisterium' as soon as possible.²⁷ Instead, the municipality of Haarlem

²³ Cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 559-564; Erasmus' dedicatory letter is published in P.S. Allen, *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, VI (Oxford, 1926) no. 1663, 256-257.

²⁴ Cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 179: 'sua ruina totam etiam familiam involuit atque pessundedit: direpta mihi praeter locuples stipendium etiam bibliotheca non contemnenda'; *Epistolae* 1839, 4.

²⁵ Cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 508-521; Junius had first considered dedicating it to Henry VIII or his son, *Epistolae* 1652, 40.

²⁶ Cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 392-397; 469-471.

²⁷ Cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 130, 123, 193, 402 (to Sambucus).

accepted him as the town's physician.²⁸ In 1554 he travelled to England in connection with the marriage of Queen Mary and the Emperor's son Philip, the later sovereign of the Netherlands and King of Spain Philip II. Junius wrote a heroic Latin poem *Philippeis* for the wedding, which he had printed in London and wanted to offer personally to the couple, obviously hoping for a nice reward. A reward of 36 golden crowns was indeed granted, but the amount disappointed the poet, since it hardly covered the expenses of his travel to and stay of about half a year in England.²⁹ In spite of his disappointment in the generosity of the royal couple, Junius dedicated the second, enlarged edition of his *De Anno et Mensibus* (Basle, 1556) to Mary with a letter dated 1 March 1556, that is exactly six years after the dedication of the first edition to her brother Edward.³⁰ Two weeks later, he dedicated his collection of philological remarks on various classical texts, *Animadversa*, to the emperor's (and later Philip II's) counsellor, the bishop, and later cardinal, Granvelle. The volume also contained a physiological and historical treatise *De coma*, on hair and hairstyling. Junius' two last Basle publications followed in 1558, an extensive collection of *Adagia* and a huge *Copiae cornu sive Oceanus* of excerpts from Eustathius' comments on Homer.

A less productive period follows. In 1564 Junius accepted a position in Denmark, but its 'Cimmerian, not to say infernal darkness' soon drove him back to Holland. 'Adsum profectus Danica e caligine', he wrote in June 1564 to Joannes Sambucus on his return, with a subtle wink at Erasmus.³¹ It seems, however, as if the Danish adventure stimulated Junius to embark on new activities. The letter to Sambucus was written in Antwerp, where Junius had just discussed his edition of Nonius Marcellus and of his *Nomenclator* with his new

²⁸ Cf. Ilja M. Veldman, 'Enkele aanvullende gegevens omtrent de biografie van Hadrianus Junius', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 89 (1974) 375-384.

²⁹ Cf. *Epistolae* 1839, 7: 'Philippeida [...] triginta et sex coronatorum aureorum remuneratum fuisse [...], certe duplum amplius multoque amplius mora longa profectioque absumit'; 11: 'tot mensibus, sex plus minus, quibus duplum ejus summae a me insumptum est'; cf also C.L. Heesakkers, 'The Ambassador of the Republic of Letters at the Wedding of Prince Philip of Spain and Queen Mary of England: Hadrianus Junius and his *Philippeis*', in: R. Schnur (a.o., eds.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Abulensis: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Avila 4-9 August 1997* (Tempe, Arizona, 2000) 325-332.

³⁰ Cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 521-525.

³¹ Cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 385; the letter is dated Antwerp, 24 May 1544 ('nono Kal. Junias'); the editor hesitated about the addressee ('Ioanni Sambuco, ni fallor'); Junius' words hint at the first line of Euripides' *Hecuba* in Erasmus' translation: 'Adsum profectus e profundis manibus Noctisque portis, cacca qua silentium'; elsewhere Junius speaks of 'sordibus Danicis, tamquam Cimmeriis quibusdam tenebris' (p. 426).

printer, Christopher Plantin.³² Junius also informed Sambucus about the the possible dedicatees of these and two other works that are particularly interesting to us: 'I dedicate Nonius to the Emperor, the *Emblemata* to our Treasurer, the *Epigrams* to various people and the *Nomenclator* to the son of some prince'.³³ This seems to imply that the text of the *Emblemata* was nearing its completion, or may even have been completed and left at Plantin's office, from which Junius soon was to travel to Brussels. We will come back to this.

Junius' most successful book, his *Nomenclator*, was published in 1567, with a dedication to Prince William of Orange's son, Philip William of Nassau. In 1568, Junius chose, for the third time, 1 March for a dedication to English royalty: his edition of Eunapius is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. He travelled to England to offer it to her. The second work of this year, an edition of Martial, was destined for a young friend Junius had met three years earlier. This young nobleman, Jan van der Does, Lord of Noordwijk, was to become the commander of Leiden during the Spanish siege of 1574 and the head of the committee that prepared the foundation of the first Dutch university in that city, which opened its doors on 8 February 1575. Soon after, he published, under the Latinized name Janus Dousa, a volume of poetry on the siege of the city and the foundation of the university, to which Junius contributed a *Carminum Lugdunensium sylvia* (1575). In the meantime, Junius was appointed professor of medicine in Leiden, but he died before he could start this job. Dousa devoted a series of poems to his death, which he inserted in the second edition of their common poetry, together with their mutual correspondence (1576).

Junius' Emblemata

Junius' correspondence is a useful tool with respect to his publications. The problem is, however, that only some of the letters give complete dates, others do not indicate the year in which they are written. Moreover, the dates are evidently not always reliable. Most of the references to the *Emblemata* can be dated approximately, as they refer to the distribution of the book and thus were written shortly after the publication, that is, after 15 May 1565, the date given in the colophon.

³² Cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 386: 'Egi hodie cum Plantino praesens de Nonnio excudendo, de Nomenclatore [...]'.
³³ *Ibid.*: 'Nonnium Caesareae Majestati destino: Emblemata Quaestori nostro: Epigrammata diversis: Nomenclatorem Principis alicujus filio'.

Genesis and Production of the Book

There is a printed letter by Junius to Arnoldus Cobelius, dated June 1561, replying to Cobelius' favourable opinion of the *Emblemata*. The date, however, must be wrong and the letter was probably written in June 1565. It seems, therefore, irrelevant for the genesis of the book.³⁴ A reference in an undated letter to Victor Giselinus is more interesting. Here, Junius wrote that he had sent the emblem (or motto) with its epigram that Giselinus had asked for: 'Emblema quod flagitas tetrasticho, ut caetera, circumscriptum, sed haud scio an genio tuo responsurum mitto'.³⁵ He suggested that Giselinus burn or destroy it if he did not like it. The word 'caetera' implies that the emblem was part of an already existing collection. Probably Giselinus found the emblem not unpleasing, since Junius' book indeed contains an emblem dedicated to Giselinus (no. 43).

The letters Junius exchanged with Sambucus contain more concrete references. A most intriguing, but puzzling piece of information is found in a letter written from Amsterdam, 10 September, no year, replying to one by Sambucus of 27 August. The letter seems to be written in the first period of the mutual acquaintance of the correspondents. With his letter Junius sends Sambucus a 'modest present' ('levidense munus'), i.e. 'some emblems, printed in Haarlem, and adorned with verses' by himself.³⁶ It is tempting to consider a letter by Sambucus, dated Antwerp 10 February 1564, and inserted in Junius' printed *Emblemata*, to be the answer to Junius' letter quoted here, for Sambucus assures him that his future readers will not agree with Junius' own 'too modest' opinion of his own emblems.³⁷ However, there is another, undated, letter to Sambucus, in which Junius announced to send fifty emblems,

³⁴ Cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 452; Ilja M. Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century* (Amsterdam-Maarssen, 1977) 153, has no doubts about the correctness of the year and concluded from the letter that the *Emblemata* had been virtually complete in 1561; the letter to Cobelius, however, supposes that Granvelle too was soon going to read the *Emblemata*, and I consider it not very probable that Junius sent a provisional, hand-written copy to a dignitary of the rank of Granvelle; since the *Emblemata* came from the press on 15 May 1565, Cobelius might very well have read them in June of that year, whilst Granvelle, who had left the country, had not yet found the time to respond to them.

³⁵ Cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 263-264.

³⁶ *Epistolae* 1652, 403: 'Emblemata aliquot isthic Harlemi typis expressa, ac a me versibus illustrata, levidense munus accipito'; about these prints, see the interpretation in Ilja Veldman's *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism* (above n. 34) 106-108.

³⁷ *Epistolae* 1652, 620 and *Emblemata* 1565, 6: 'Accepi Emblemata tuas, de quibus etsi nimium modeste sentis, aliud tamen fore publicum iudicium: nam et sana et varia, elegantiaque sunt, et facile auctorem officinamque testabuntur'.

added to some emblems dealing with 'historical and other arguments'.³⁸ It is more probable that Sambucus' reply of 10 February 1564 concerned these emblems.

There is still another undated letter by Junius, in which he announced his addressee, Christopher Plantin, to send the *Emblemata*, this time together with the dedication.³⁹ There seems to be no further correspondence between Junius and Plantin on this subject prior to the publication of the book.

According to the colophon of the *Emblemata*, the printing was finished on 15 May, 1565. As usual, the splendid archives of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp, contain detailed information about the making of the book, which was analysed by Max Rooses (in connection with his re-publication of the emblem section in 1901) and by Leon Voet in his indispensable bibliography.⁴⁰ The results of their research may be summarized as follows. The print-run of the first edition was 1250 copies. Most of the drawings for the woodcuts were designed by Geoffrey Ballain, and a few others by Peter Huys. The woodblocks were cut by Gerard Janssen van Kampen, who left his initial G (or a ligature of G and I, for 'Gerardus Ioannis') on the blocks of the emblems nos. 10 and 19, and by Arnold Nicolai. The payment of the artists had started as early as June 1564. The block for no. 21 is of a slightly different size: it contains Sambucus' coat of arms, and was taken from the blocks used for Sambucus' own collection of emblems published in the preceding year.

Composition and Contents of the Volume

The frontispiece informs the reader that the emblems are dedicated to Arnoldus Cobelius, treasurer of the County of Holland at The Hague, and, moreover, that the volume contains a booklet with riddles, dedicated to Arnoldus Rosenbergus.⁴¹ Of course, Plantin's vignette and printer's address are not lacking. The whole is printed within an ornamental border. This border is maintained, in a slightly different form, throughout the book of emblems. The

³⁸ *Epistolae* 1652, 408: 'Mittam ad te propediem Emblemata quinquaginta. quae, describo, praeter ista historiarum, aliorumque argumentorum Emblemata'.

³⁹ *Epistolae* 1652, 266: 'Proxima hebdomada mittam ad te Emblemata mea cum epistola dedicatoria'.

⁴⁰ M. Rooses (ed.), *Les Emblèmes d'Hadrianus Junius. Réimpression de l'édition plantinienne de 1565 tirée sur les bois originaux* (Antwerp, 1901); L. Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589). A Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, vol. III (Amsterdam, 1980-1983) 1272-1276.

⁴¹ *Hadriani Iunii Medici Emblemata, ad D. Arnoldum Cobelium. Eiusdem Aenigmatum libellus ad Arnoldum Rosenbergum*. [devicc] Antverpiae, Ex officina Christophori Plantini M.D.LXV. Cum privilegio.

border of the title-page returns on the separate title-pages of the *Aenigmata*, but the other pages of this part have no borders.

After the information, on the next page, that the royal and imperial privileges are to be found at the end of the book, the dedicatory letter to Cobelius follows, dated 'Harlemo sub Idus Januarias', 13 (or towards 13) January, to which the year 1565 may be supplied.⁴² The dedication offers a few details on the occasion (New Year), size and form of the book. The work was intended to be a New Year's present for Cobelius, 'strenae vice', following a tradition from classical antiquity. However, circumstances had caused a delay. In the meantime, the number of emblems had increased, but Junius had restrained his tongue, in proportion to his restricted genius and fortune. Nevertheless, he had written more than Cobelius had charged him with.⁴³ This last remark would suggest, that Cobelius had something to do with the idea of the book, or at least with its length, but further information about this is not available. Junius paid special attention to the commentary, which is needed, in the first place to further explain the motto (that cannot be sufficiently justified within the limits of the tetrastich and the picture) and, secondly, to instruct the designer of the picture, whom Junius could not personally assist because of the distance. Obviously, Junius considered both the epigram and the picture as explanations of the motto.⁴⁴ He finished his dedication with the remark that the metrical variety of the epigrams should avert boredom.

Sambucus' letter of 10 February 1564 to Junius, mentioned above, concludes the preliminaries (p. 6). Here, Sambucus advises Junius not to think too modestly about the emblems he had sent, for they are 'sana, varia elegantiaque' ('prudent, varied and elegant'), and the edition will be worthy of their author as well as their printer. Sambucus informs Junius that his own emblems will not be published before April and goes on to urge his friend not to linger with his publications of Suidas, Greek *epitheta* with commentary, and Nonius Marcellus, under the pretext of not having finished them, for Junius

⁴² The dedicatory letter is also inserted in *Epistolae* 1652, 549-551, where the year 1565 is added; I do not understand why Voet in *The Plantin Press*, 1273, gives the date as 13 February, which would, moreover, be a little late for a New Year's gift.

⁴³ 4-5: 'malui eundem mihi linguae modum, qui est ingenij, qui est fortunae. Scripsi autem plura, qua iniunxeras'.

⁴⁴ 5: 'Pluriculum operae positum est in reddenda symbolorum ratione, quae obscurior paulo est, eo quod brevitatem captandi, singulis versuum quadrigis, et picturae typum et symboli rationem includere necessum fuerit, tum in explicando picturae apparatu, ut ne pictor, quia locis disiungimur, quidquam hic desideraret'; for the relation between the constituents of the emblem, cf. A. Wesseling, 'Testing Modern Emblem Theory: The Earliest Views of the Genre (1564-1566)', in: J. Manning, K. Porteman, M. van Vaeck (eds.), *The Emblem Tradition and the Low Countries* [Imago Figurata Studies Vol. 1b] (Turnhout, 1999) 3-22; Wesseling concentrates exclusively on Sambucus' preface in his emblem book and on that of Sambucus' Dutch translator Marcus Antonius Gillis; so Junius' book, also translated into Dutch by Gilles, is not discussed.

has to clear his agenda for works of others: that will make him the equal of Erasmus, not only in genius, but also in the number of his works.⁴⁵ As two of these works had appeared in the meantime, Junius could consider himself, on Sambucus' authority, the equal of Erasmus, the new Erasmus, as he sometimes has been hailed by his contemporaries. This must have made it attractive for Junius to insert Sambucus' letter in his emblem book.

The corpus of fifty-eight emblems follows immediately after Sambucus' small letter (pages 7-64). They all contain, within the space of one page, the title and number in capitals and the three constituents, motto, picture and epigram. Nineteen of them, however, have a dedication added below the motto. All the dedicated emblems but the last one, which is also the last of the whole collection, have odd numbers. Almost half of the dedicatees are politicians and diplomats who participate in the central government of the Netherlands at Brussels (Granvelle, Viglius, Hopperus, in this order opening the row) or in that of the County of Holland at The Hague (Jacobus Endius, Cornelius Susius), or have other diplomatic or administrative positions (Franciscus Delfus, Philippus Cobelius, the Danish Chancellor Hieronymus Tennerus, and, in a way, Sambucus). The others are mainly scholars and humanists, like Sambucus, Cornelius Musius, Victor Giselinus and Junius' companion student at Bologna, Martinus Aedituus. The last emblem of the book is dedicated to Junius' son Petrus.⁴⁶ Compared with the numerous well-known names from all over Europe in Sambucus' emblem book, Junius' list of addressees is small, less varied and almost exclusively composed from a Dutch point of view. But, of course, the collection also is only a quarter of that of Sambucus.

The modest size and limited variety of the book and its contents, however, contribute to its unity and harmony and make it a genuine *bijou*. Its harmony is produced in the first place by the use of identical borders. The left and right pages mirror each other, which results in a nicely balanced symmetrical diptich. The uniformity is strengthened by the identical size and almost identical position of the woodcuts within the frame of the border. The texts on the pages underline this uniformity. Only rarely does the motto, in one case starting with two Greek words (no. 43) but for the rest all in Latin, exceed

⁴⁵ 6: 'Tu vero tandem nobis Sudam restitutum, epithetorum Graccorum explicationes, Nonium, et alia extrudas: nec, quasi nondum absolueris, otium differendo quaeras; teque ad alia accingas; ut, quando Erasmus vestrum ingenio aequare coepisti, numero quoque lucubrationum inferior ne sis'. The *epitheta* were printed in 1564, Nonius in 1656; an edition of Suidas by Junius has never been published.

⁴⁶ Voet, *The Plantin Press*, 1273-1274, gives the complete list; J. Landwehr, *Emblem Books in the Low Countries 1554-1949. A Bibliography* (Utrecht, 1970) no. 276 gives an incomplete and inaccurate list; M. de Costere is not to be found in the book, it is simply the Dutch version of Martinus Aedituus.

one typographical line. The same holds true for the epigrams, which, as has been said, consistently count four verses. They contain some archaic and rare word-forms and words, fruits of the lexicographical activities of the author.⁴⁷ Junius rarely uses combinations of words found in classical Latin; the proverbial 'cane peius et angui' (no. 2, from Horace, *Epistolae* 1,17,30) is an exception. The epigram of the emblem devoted to Viglius and his motto play on the name of the addressee, and the very pleasant woodcut shows Viglius' coat of arms (no. 5), as does the emblem dedicated to Sambucus (no. 21). The words 'animi aequitas' are found in the motto of the emblem devoted to Giselinus who inserted these in his own motto, three years later, together with a coat of arms, in his entry in the album amicorum of Janus Dousa.⁴⁸ Giselinus is the only person Junius addresses directly in the epigram of the emblem devoted to him (no. 43).

Seven of the emblems contain citations within the woodcuts, all in Italian. They prove that Junius, contrary to Erasmus, had familiarised himself with the Italian language and its literature during his stay in the fatherland of Humanism. Italian is one of the eight languages represented in Junius' *Nomenclator*. Four of these citations are borrowed from Petrarch's *Canzoniere*.⁴⁹

Junius' own commentary on the emblems, to which we will return soon, occupies half of the total booklet. It is followed by a list of 'Auctorum nomina e quibus profecimus, et quorum testimonio usi sumus', a list of almost a hundred names of the authors used and quoted. Apart from the humanists Erasmus and Lilius Gyraldus, and a few Byzantines, almost all of these names stem from Greek and Latin antiquity. The name of Petrarch is missing from this list, although he is mentioned once in the commentary as 'Hetruscus poeta', the poet from Etruria or Tuscany (p. 138). Also missing, but mentioned in the commentary (p. 135), is the name of Poggio Bracciolini. The colophon closes the emblem book.

⁴⁷ For example 'clathratus' (1, 39), 'obstreperus' (2), 'haeredipeta' (10), 'sophia' (15, 46), 'torulus' (37); the word 'illaqueatrix' (29) may be a neologism, the masculine 'illaqueator' is used by Petrarch; cf. R. Hoven, *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance* (Leiden, 1994); the archaic and poetical infinitive ending -ier was a useful means to make a word fit within the verse ('metrier', 5).

⁴⁸ Cf. C.L. Heesakkers (ed.), *Een netwerk aan de basis van de Leidse universiteit. Het album amicorum van Janus Dousa* (Leiden-The Hague, 2000) 178-183, and facsimile-volume, fol. 29r.

⁴⁹ These Italian texts are found in no. 16: 'E tutto abbraccio et nulla stringo', quoting Petrarch, *Canz.* 134, 4 in reversed order, which had become a proverb; no. 20: 'Di questo mi contento, et meglio spero'; no. 28: 'Basta ch' io vivo'; no. 39: 'Il mal mi preme et mi spaventa [sic] il peggio', quoting Petrarch, *Canz.* 244, 1; no. 40: 'Ardo dappresso et da longi mi struggo'; no. 47: 'Di duol mi struggo, et di fuggir mi stanco', quoting Petrarch, *Canz.* 209, 14; no. 49: 'Cosi di ben amar porto tormento', quoting Petrarch, *Canz.* 207, 79.

The other side of the variety of subjects and contents of the emblems praised by Sambucus is that the collection does not, as it seems, focus on a particular theme, nor does Junius seem to have a particular social group or category of readers in mind. The coherence of the emblems is, however, guaranteed by their common ethical message.⁵⁰ Education in virtuousness in general is their basic aim. The ethical rules and moral lessons the book offers, are borrowed from classical antiquity in the first place, whilst Christian authors are but a small minority. The commentary on emblem no. 23, 'Divina scrutari, temerarium', which discusses the Christian mysteries and is addressed to a priest, the Neo-Latin poet Cornelius Musius, quotes various Church Fathers and theologians, but as such is an exception.

The Aenigmata

Although the *Aenigmata* has its own title-page and foliation, it constitutes one volume together with the emblems. It is announced on the frontispiece, as are the privileges on the back of the frontispiece, which follow the *Aenigmata* at the very end of the volume. Moreover, Junius mentions the addition in his *Ad lectorem* to the commentary on the emblems (p. 65). The text numbers 44 riddles, written in the form of epigrams of various lengths, the first and the last in two versions. The solutions to the riddles, neatly numbered, are given in the ingenious introductory poem to the jurist Arnoldus Rosenberg⁵¹, offering sometimes in one line three, and once even four, keywords to understanding as many riddles. After the last riddle, hiding the word 'prurigo' ('itching'), immediately follow the privilege of King Philip, mentioning both the *Emblemata* and *Aenigmata*, and that of the Emperor Maximilian. These printing privileges constitute the end of the volume. Or, to say it with Junius, 'Prurigo imponet mordax Colo-phona libello', A mordant itching will put an end to the booklet.⁵²

⁵⁰ In the commentary on some emblems references to other emblems are found (p. 69, reference to no. 15, which should be read as no. 24; p. 89, ref. to no. 42; p. 122, ref. to no. 9, for the metre; p. 133, ref. to no. 13; p. 141, ref. to no. 22; p. 145, ref. to no. 54).

⁵¹ I have not traced this Rosenbergus. According to *Epistolae* 1652, 189, he was in charge of the affairs of the Swedish King ('qui Regis Sueciae negocia illic curat'); another letter (p. 288) suggests that he was in Alkmaar when Junius wrote the letter mentioning him and promising some riddles; letters written by Junius to Rosenbergus in *Epistolae* 1652, 230-231, 305, and *Epistolae* 1839, 77-78, 78 (containing copies of the *Aenigmata*).

⁵² Junius' riddles were inserted in the extensive collection edited by Nicolaus Reusner, *Aenigmatographia sive sylloge aenigmatum et griphorum convivalium* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1602) 237-250, where the keywords are added to the numbers above the epigrams.

The Commentary and its Structure

Alciato's and Sambucus' emblem books, which had preceded Junius' collection, have no commentary. However, later editions of Alciato, printed in Lyons in 1555 and 1561, contained large commentaries, although not by the author himself. Plantin reprinted this commented edition of Alciato's emblems in the same year as Junius' emblems were printed. The all-devouring philologist Junius probably knew this edition, but it is quite possible that he himself did not need an example to come up with the idea of adding a commentary to his emblems.

In his preface, *Ad lectorem*, Junius acknowledges the right of the reader to be informed of the origin and use of the emblems. Emblems, according to Junius, are a little puzzling by nature, but for this reason they acquire a special elegance and grace because of their subtlety and agreeable obscurity. The gradual discovery of their meaning causes a certain suspense and finally awards great satisfaction to the reader and spectator. For this reason Junius wanted the singular commentaries to be separated from the emblems and to be printed at the end of the collection.

In most cases, the commentary starts with an indication of the metrum and strophe used. In seven emblems, odes or epodes of Horace have provided the metrical model for seven emblems (nos. 2, 4, 18, 26, 28, 39, 47). Three schemes Junius had found in Boethius (nos. 13, 19, 22) and one in Martialis (no. 20). Others stem from the treatises on metrical questions by Marius Plotius Claudius, Terentianus Maurus and in particular Maurus Servius Honoratus. Plotius is mentioned as the source of no. 10 and no. 14, but the latter is in fact found in Servius' treatise. Servius' *De centum metris* is the metrical source of eight epigrams (nos. 6, 8, 12, [14], 16, 23, 46, 49). When there is no indication at all, the epigram is often, but not always, composed in elegiac distichs. In other cases two distichs are composed of hexameter plus iambic trimeter, a combination which has sometimes, but, again, not always, been mentioned. In no. 39, Junius remarks that his first two lines, 'Iugo repanda colla servili effere Exuere molliter paras taure irrita', can be perfectly read in reversed word order: 'Effere servili colla repanda iugo Irrita taure paras molliter exuere'.

The commentaries to the individual emblems are of various lengths, between more than four pages (no. 23) and eight bare lines (no. 30). In five commentaries Junius addresses himself directly to the dedicatee. The first of these are the two counsellors in Brussels, Viglius (no. 5) and Hopperus (no. 7). The same happens in the case of Sambucus, whose coat of arms, represented in the emblem, is briefly commented on by Junius (no. 21). Commenting on his

emblem devoted to the Danish Chancellor Hieronymus Tenner, Junius wrote his addressee that the emblem represented looked like the coat of arms Tenner had once showed him, when he was at the latter's place during his stay in Copenhagen (no. 37). In the very last emblem, 'Assiduitas duri victrix', Junius addresses himself to his son Petrus, exhorting him to industriousness and assiduity in various commonplaces (no. 58). Cardinal Granvelle, the first addressee of the collection (no. 3), is mentioned by name in the commentary, not, however, in the second, but in the third person.

As has been said, the list of authors whose works Junius has used, numbers almost one hundred names, and it is not even exhaustive. The list proves Junius' vast erudition and knowledge of the ancient Greek and Latin and Renaissance literature. Junius has freely drawn on this literature, paraphrasing or quoting many passages in the original Latin or in his own translation from the Greek. As a consequence, the commentary and therewith the booklet as such is in the first place a philological achievement, as will be seen below.

The great majority of the individual commentaries contain instructions for the designing of the *pictura*. They mostly follow at the end, but sometimes the commentary begins with such instruction (nos. 16, 32, 39, 47). In a few cases Junius tells where he has found the model. As we have seen, he inserted Sambucus' coat of arms (no. 21) and he did the same with the one of Tenner's (no. 37). The concluding emblem for his son contains the coat of arms of the Susius family (58), two members of which were honoured with a personal emblem (nos. 15, Cornelius, and 23, Jacobus). One picture (no. 51), which will, according to Junius, obviate criticism from malevolent people and prove the honest and candid intentions of his publications, has been borrowed from the frontispiece of books printed in Prague.⁵³

The Opening Momus Emblem and its Commentary; Junius and Erasmus

Honesty and candour are the subject of the emblem that opens the collection and may, therefore, be considered to be programmatic for the book. This may justify spending a few more words on this emblem and its commentary. At the same time, this will illustrate the way Junius gathered his material, composed the elements of the emblems and added his instructions for the design of the pictures. The motto of the emblem reads as follows:

⁵³ Cf. 142: 'Emblema desumptum est (ne quis nobis fascinus a malevolis obrepat, qui candide nostros labores in publicum proferimus) e librorum Pragae, quae Bohemiae copiosissima facile et litterarum studiis celeberrima est civitas, excusorum frontispicio'.

Reprehendere proclive: et animum apertum esse debere.
(It is easy to criticize; man should be open-hearted).

The epigram below the picture explains what the motto and the picture mean:

Nocte satus, genitore orbus, sum nomine Momus,
Dente Theonino singula rodo lubens:
Fingi hominem caussor clathrato pectore; apertis
Sensibus occultum ut nil specus ille tegat.

(Born of the Night, without a father, I bear the name of Momus.
I love it to bite at everything with the sharp teeth of Theon.
I plead to make man with an open chest, in order that for open
Senses nothing which that cave covers remains unseen).

The epigram is the normal type of Neo-Latin poetry, with the usual echoes of ancient Roman literature. 'Dente Theonino rodo' is an easily recognized borrowing from Horace and 'Nocte satus' might be a feeble allusion to the 'Nocte satae' of Valerius Flaccus.⁵⁴

Momus Commented

Junius' commentary on this first emblem numbers four pages and offers no less than seven quotations and sayings from antiquity on which he has based his interpretation of the motto and its representation in the picture. After the statement that Momus was the god not only of criticism and censure, but also of plagues and illnesses, Junius cites Hesiod's *Theogonia* as a proof to explain that the Night gave birth to Momus without having slept with anybody. Never ceasing to be the learned philologist, Junius seizes the opportunity to criticize the defective Venetian edition, 'editio Veneta mendosissima', of Hesiod, which, instead of οὐ τινι 'with nobody', has the wrong reading ὃ τινι, 'with the person just mentioned'. This reading would imply that the person mentioned, Somnus, Sleep, himself a son of Nox, was the father of Momus, in Junius' eyes an unbelievable case of incest. The reason why Momus is said to have no father is that criticism often originates from ignorance and that it is often unclear from where negative rumors arise and are spread. In accordance with a line of the poet Martial, Junius continues, Momus is presented by the

⁵⁴ Cf. Horace, *Epist.* 1, 18, 82: 'Dente Theonino cum circumroditur'; Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* 3, 252: 'quem Nocte satae, quem turbidus horret Armipotens'.

painters with black teeth and nails.⁵⁵ Here, we should keep in mind that Junius was a friend and collaborator of the Haarlem painter Maarten van Heemskerck. The latter's painting 'Momus criticizing the creations of the gods', contains an epigram which is, but for one line, identical with the epigram on the emblem and must, therefore, also stem from Junius.⁵⁶ Momus is painted with wings, since criticism and slander are very easily vented, understood and diffused, as Cicero said in his *Oration for Plancius*. Alcaeus also attributed wings to him. Greek epigrams present Momus as an old man, supporting his bald temple with his hand.⁵⁷ This is because criticism is something senile and far-fetched. Junius himself gives Momus *Invidia*, Envy, as his 'individua comes', his inseparable companion, since emulation easily arouses and nourishes that vice. To illustrate this, Junius paraphrases a passage from Lucian's *Hermotimus* about the competition between the gods Pallas Athena, Neptunus and Vulcanus, on the works of art they had produced, respectively a house, a bull and a man. They chose Momus as their arbitrator, who, *inter alia*, criticized Vulcanus' work, since the god had omitted to put small windows in the chest of the man he had made.⁵⁸ It has been said that even Venus had not escaped Momus' criticism. The last quoted text about Momus is a saying of Socrates as preserved by Vitruvius.⁵⁹ So far Junius' overview of his sources for the emblem.

Instructions for the Momus Picture

The last part of the commentary on the emblem offers the details for the design of the picture. Although this part of the commentary is not typographically separated from the description of the sources, it seems to have its own subscription with the word *Pictura*, followed by a full stop. In translation the text runs as follows:

⁵⁵ 67: 'iuxta illud Epigrammatarij: Nigros contorsit lividus unguis (Martial 4, 27, 5: Nigros conrodit lividus unguis)'.

⁵⁶ A black and white reproduction of Heemskerck's painting as well as of Junius' emblem is given by Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism*, 100; the second line of the epigram on the painting reads: 'Invidiae. Que Comes. Singula. Carpo. Lubens'; in his commentary, Junius suggests that it was his own idea to have Momus accompanied by Envy: 'Adiungo illi (Momo) et Invidiam individuum comitem'.

⁵⁷ Cf. Cicero, *Pro Plancio* 23, 57: 'Nihil est autem tam volucre quam maledictum, nihil facilius emittitur, nihil citius excipitur, latius dissipatur'; two poems on Momus in the *Anthologia Palatina* 16, 265 and 266; the line of Alcaeus also stems from the *Anthologia Palatina* viz. 16, 7, 6.

⁵⁸ Lucianus, *Hermotimus sive de sectis*, 20.

⁵⁹ 68, slightly changing Vitruvius, *De architectura*, 3, Praefatio 1: 'Is (Socrates) autem memoratur prudenter doctissimeque dixisse, oportuisse hominum pectora fenestrata et aperta esse, uti non occultos haberent sensus sed patentes ad considerandum'.

Picture. Let the old man be painted bald, with a dusky colour, his teeth and fingernails lead-coloured, wings standing out on his shoulders, his left hand supporting his head in the way a thinker does, the outstretched forefinger of his right hand pointing to an effigy of a man having a chest with a window; at a distance stand Pallas with a house, Neptunus with a horse, next to him Vulcanus with his man, in such a manner that the image of the man with the window is different from Vulcanus' man, as if Momus indicates that Vulcanus should have made his man in that way. As far as the painting of the gods, I once and for all determine: Neptunus must be painted naked, his hair cerulian, in his one hand the trident, in the other the rein of his horse, his foot pressing on a dolphin. Vulcanus is black like a smith, wrinkled because of his unremitting labour at the anvil, a hammer in his left hand and with his right hand pointing to the man he has made; he is limping and has a blue cap on his head, which has a shape like the tiara of the doge of Venice. I will give the effigy of Pallas in emblem no. 15.⁶⁰

The reference to emblem no. 15 is a mistake, at least in the actual order of the printed text, in which the figure and description of Pallas Athena are found in emblem no. 24. The reference to the Doge of Venice reveals, once again, Junius' familiarity with Italian customs. The most striking feature of Junius' instruction is the emphasis given to the colours of some of the details of the emblem. One may wonder whether the description was originally intended to serve as a guide to a colour painting. It does not quite fit the painting by Heemskerck, in which Vulcanus' traditional work of art, a male figure, has been replaced by a woman, conspicuously present in the centre of the group. The description of Athena in emblem 24, to which Junius refers in the Momus emblem (as no. 15), has no instructions on colours.⁶¹ The descriptions of some

⁶⁰ 69: *Pictura. Senex pingatur calvus, colore fusco, lividis dentibus unguibusque, alis supra humeros exstantibus, laeva caput sustentans cogitabundi in morem, dextrae indice extento versus effigiem quandam hominis, clathratum pectus habentem: adstant procul Pallas cum domicilio: Neptunus [sic] cum equo: proxime illum Vulcanus cum homine suo, ita ut simulachrum hominis clathratum diversum sit ab homine Vulcani, velut Momo designante, talem oportuisse fingi. Quod ad picturam Deorum attinet, ita semel statuo: Neptunus nudus pingatur, capillitio caeruleo, altera tridentem complexus, altera manu equum habena tenens, pede delphinum premens. Vulcanus atro colore ut faber, rugosus propter assiduos ad incudem labores, laeva malleum tenens, dextra hominem a se fictum commonstrans, claudus, capite praefereus pileum caeruleum, cuiusmodi ferme figura spectatur Ducis Veneti tiara. Palladis effigiem dabo Emblemate 15'; Junius' description with an English translation also in Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism*, 102.*

⁶¹ 108; Athena should be painted 'oculis acribus et glaucis', 'with sharp and grayish eyes', but 'glaucus' can also be understood as 'sparkling' and does not necessarily imply a colour.

other emblems, however, do contain elements that hardly fit the black and white pictures of the emblems.⁶²

Erasmus and Junius on Momus

As has already been said, Junius' compatriot and model, Erasmus of Rotterdam, was one of the names listed among the authors used for the emblems and their commentaries. Surprisingly enough, however, it seems that *nominatim* references to Erasmus, except for the one in Sambucus' letter, are completely lacking in Junius' book. Was the insertion of Erasmus' name in the list of authors merely *honoris causa*? There are a few sayings quoted by Junius which also occur in Erasmus' *Adagia* but Junius, himself an editor of *Adagia*, can easily have known them through his own reading of the ancient authors. Nevertheless, he certainly knew Erasmus' *chef-d'oeuvre* on ancient proverbs. And, more than that, it is precisely the commentary on his Momus emblem that strongly suggests that Junius has used Erasmus' commentary on his proverb no. 474, 'Momo satisfacere et similia'.⁶³ There is a striking parallel between Erasmus' references and those quoted by Junius. Both start with the reference to Hesiod' *Theogonia*, both refer to Lucian's *Hermotimus*, and both contain the remark on Momus criticizing even Venus, Junius without reference, Erasmus adding his source, a letter of Philostratus (*Epistola* 37). More indicative, however, may be Junius' blaming the Venetian edition of Hesiod for making the reader believe that Momus was the son of Sleep. This is precisely how Erasmus had read the passage, since he paraphrased that Hesiod described Momus as 'Nocte matre, Somno patre progenitus', without any further comment. Thus, this would imply that Erasmus was one of those who had been misled by following the reading of the deficient Venetian edition.⁶⁴ If Junius mentioned Erasmus *honoris causa* in his list of authors, he might have purposely omitted his name in the Momus emblem for reason of discretion, *pietatis causa*, so to say.

However strong the links between Erasmus' and Junius' comments seem to be, unfortunately they do not irrefutably prove that Junius had

⁶² Cf. 93 (no. 126), 'bullae iridis in modum discolores purpurescentes' ('soap bubbles of various purple colours like those of a rainbow') 124 (no. 34), 'rubidi coloris'; 143 (no. 52), 'paludamentum purpureum'.

⁶³ Cf. Erasmus, *Adagiorum Chilias Prima*, edited by M.L. van Poll-van de Lisdonk, M. Mann Phillips, Chr. Robinson, in: *ASD (=Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami)* II, 1 (Amsterdam etc., 1993) 546-548.

⁶⁴ Junius' commentary, 66: 'nonnulli secuti fidem editionis Venetae longe omnium mendosissimae lapsi sunt'.

Erasmus' Momus-adagium before him when he wrote his commentary on the Momus emblem. And if he had, he added at least four classical quotations of his own in emulation of his great compatriot.

Junius' Praise of his Profession: 'Medici Icon' (no. 25)

There is another emblem illustrated with a number of quotations, for which Junius could have consulted a work of Erasmus. Still a student in Paris, Erasmus had written an *Encomium medicinae* that he had published two decades later, in 1518.⁶⁵ The emblem, dedicated to Martinus Aedituus, Junius' former fellow student in Italy, now a respected physician in Amsterdam, has a peculiar character. The subject of the emblem is, of course, dear and familiar to Junius, since it has to do with his own profession, the art of Aesculapius. The elements of the emblem prove that the philologist Junius sometimes read ancient literature through the eyes of a physician.

Title and Epigram

The inscription or title of the emblem, 'Medici icon', 'The image of the Physician', can hardly be called a motto. It does not contain instruction or good counsel, but simply covers the information that will be offered in the whole of the emblem in ever widening circles, through the *pictura*, the epigram, a second epigram opening the commentary and, finally, the extensive further comments.

As usual, the first two lines of the epigram describe the elements of the picture and the other two lines explain their symbolic significance:

Sceptringer, et lauro, baculoque instructus acerno
 Quid Draco, quid Gallus vult sibi, quidve Canis?
 Imperat hic aegris, operosaque arte medetur,
 Sedulus, et fidus, dignus honore, vigil.

(A bearer of a sceptre, provided with a laurel and a staff of maple-wood, what does he want to express? What do a dragon, a cock or a dog? He commands over the ill and heals them through his laborious art; he is industrious, trustworthy, deserving honour, and vigilant.)

⁶⁵ Modern edition by J. Domanski in *ASD* (see n. 63), I, 4 (Amsterdam, 1973) 145-186.

A Second Epigram

As Junius remarks in his commentary, the brevity of this explanation makes it rather obscure and complex. So he permits himself another more extensive poem, a *dialogismus*, a dialogue of short questions and answers, which seem to neglect the verse-structure:

Qui Deus es? Phoebo satus atque Coronide. habes cur
 Sceptrum? acgris ut rex impero. quid resides?
 Sit sedato animo medicus. quid verticem inumbrat
 Laurea? perpes enim vivit ab arte decus.
 Nodoso baculo quid nitere? difficilem artem
 Id notat. hinc cur stat Gallus, et inde Draco?
 Cura vigil medicum decet ac custodia. quid vult
 Sub pedibus Canis? hoc symbolon est fidei.
 Quidve tegit mentum propexa incanaque barba?
 Longa actas firmat iudicium atque fidem.

(Which God are you? I am the son of Apollo and Coronis. Why do you have a sceptre? I command over the ill like a king. Why are you sitting? A physician must have his mind composed. Why does a laurel shade your head? Because lasting glory is the fruit of the art. Why do you lean on a knotty cane? That proves the difficulty of my art. Why is there a cock on the one side, a dragon on the other? Wakeful care and vigilance suit the physician. What symbolizes the dog at your feet? It is the symbol of faithfulness. Why is a long and grey beard covering your chin? High age confirms judgement and faithfulness).

The Picture and its Composition Commented

To explain the composition of the *pictura* and its various elements, Junius offers quite a number of references. Celsus is his authority that Aesculapius had been accepted among the gods, since he had exercised the still primitive art of medicine on a more subtle level. However, that he was the inventor of medicine, as Hermes Trismegisthus argued, translated by Apuleius, is wrong. The ancients presented the god in various ways. Pausanias wrote that he saw an image of him at Sicyon which presented him as standing, beardless, in his left hand the sceptre and in his right a pine-nut, but that Thrasymedes of Paros sculptured him sitting on a throne, a staff in one hand and the other appeasing

the head of a dragon, a dog lying nearby. Pompeius Festus agreed with this in many respects, but added a laurel.⁶⁶ 'I myself', Junius goes on, 'have brought all these presentations together and, so to say, thrown them all in the one undistinguished Myconos, as they call it. And I have melted them into the following image of a physician or Aesculapius. I would design a serious looking man with a beard, sitting on a throne, with a laurel, a sceptre in one hand, a knotty cane in the other, standing next to him on the one side a dragon, on the other a cock, and a dog lying at his feet. And now I will offer the reasons for my commentary or presentation'.⁶⁷

Then once again, the attributes of Aesculapius and both the previously mentioned and the new authorities with new evidence pass in review. First, Junius gives an unusual etymology of the name of Aesculapius or, in Greek, Asclepius. Then he quotes Festus' motive in adding the laurel: the tree contains many remedies. Pausanias' sceptre reminds Junius of a piece of invective by Galen, accusing contemporary physicians of behaving like slaves, all against the tradition founded by Aesculapius, whose prescriptions were like royal commands.⁶⁸ Eusebius explained the staff as the support of the ill and Cornutus as the help of the physician that prevents us from falling ill too rapidly.⁶⁹ The dragon or serpent symbolizes, according to Cornutus, both the never-sleeping care of the physician for the ill, and their rejuvenation, like the serpent throwing off its old skin, thanks to the physician's assiduousness. The latter symbolism is supported by Macrobius. Since the dragon never sleeps, it was trusted with watching over the temples, as Festus testifies. Pliny, however, considers the dragon the guard of the medicines stored in Aesculapius' temple.⁷⁰ Junius mentions the cock's vigilance without further references, but he says that he added the dog ('Canem illi subiicio') as a symbol of the physician's trustworthiness, for which he refers to the story of Alexander the Great's physician, Philip of Acharnania. Alexander, although warned by his highest general that Philip was bribed by King Darius to poison him, preferred

⁶⁶ Cf. Celsus, *De medicina*, Praefatio 2; *Corpus Hermeticum*, Asclepius 37; Pausanias, 2, 27, 2; Festus, 59L, s.v. 'Dracones'; 104L, s.v. 'Laureati'.

⁶⁷ 110: 'Ego collectis symbolis omnibus, et quasi in unam (quod dicitur) myconum coniectis, talem ferre medici sive Aesculapij Iconem conflavi. Virum gravem pinxero, barbatus, throno insidentem, laureatum, sceptrum gerentem altera manu, nodosum baculum altera, astantes illi hinc Draconem, hinc gallum, stratumque ad pedes canem. Nunc commenti, symbolive rationes subiiciam'; the proverb 'In unam myconum' had been explained by Erasmus in his *Adag.* 1347, 'Omnia sub unam Myconum'; cf. also his *Adag.* 1007, 'Myconius calvus'.

⁶⁸ Galen, *De methodo medendi* 3, 7 (Kuhn X, 206-208), indicated by Junius, however, as 'Therapeutica I'.

⁶⁹ Eusebius, reference not identified; Cornutus, *De natura deorum*, 33.

⁷⁰ Cornutus, *De natura deorum*, 33; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1, 20, 1; Festus, 59L, s.v. 'Dracones'; Plinius, *Naturalis historia*, 29, 4, 22, 72.

to take the drink rather than to doubt his physician's trustworthiness.⁷¹ Junius rejects Festus' interpretation, that Aesculapius had been nurtured on dog's milk, although, he adds, Lactantius has the same story.⁷² So far in regard to Junius' quotations and references to illustrate or justify the various elements of his emblem.

An Embarrassing Richness of Sources

Like the Momus emblem, the Aesculapius emblem shows a wide range of quotations from ancient Greek and Latin literature, containing thirteen references to ten authors, to which Curtius Rufus could have been added as the source of the story of Philip of Acharnania and Alexander. The Myconus proverb might imply a wink to Erasmus' *Adagia*, but we should not forget that Junius himself was a specialist in ancient proverbs and did not need the help of Erasmus to find appropriate proverbs. Still, I consider it possible that Junius was aware of the presence of this proverb, as well as of the Momus adagium, in Erasmus' collection. This would also explain the mention of Erasmus in the list of authors Junius offered. Indeed, although Erasmus is mentioned in that list, it seems that no *nominatim* reference to him or his works is to be found in Junius' book.

It must be added that the emblems of Momus and Aesculapius both belong to the world of mythology (although Henkel and Schöne classify Momus within the 'Personifikationen'), for which the material was easily gathered thanks to reference works like Cicero's *De natura deorum* and both ancient and Renaissance mythographers. That Junius did not need, however, such tools, is proved by the emblems belonging to other categories which show a similar accumulation of references.

Pagan and Christian Sources

The emblem with the most extensive commentary is the warning 'Divina scrutari, temerarium' (no. 23). It is addressed to the priest Cornelius Musius Delphus, who had been a friend of the great Janus Secundus. Since the picture is composed around the 'Egyptian' palm-tree, it has found its place within the 'Pflanzenwelt' of Henkel and Schöne. If one were to expect any biblical reference, one would be deceived. However, the commentary shows that Junius'

⁷¹ Junius gives no source; the story is told in Curtius 3, 6.

⁷² Cf. Lactantius, *Institutiones* 1, 10, 2.

erudition was not restricted to ancient and Renaissance literature. Junius refers to the Greeks Theophrastus and Dioscurides for the properties of the fruits of the tree, which are thirst-quenching when unripe but intoxicating when ripe. He does not refer to Pliny's description, but instead to Pliny's compiler Solinus. Then follows the anecdote of the Greek poet Simonides, who, being requested by the Syracusan king, Hiero, to give a definition of God, first asked for a day to formulate it, then for two days and so on. No reference of the anecdote is given. Christian theologians, too, must behave very modestly when they try to explain the divine mysteries. To illustrate this, Junius quotes a twelfth century 'theologian of more than usual erudition,' 'non postremae eruditionis Theologus', Hugo Eterianus, slightly correcting the latter's inadequate Greek.⁷³ More references to theological works follow, to an enigmatic letter of Bishop Martialis of Limoges, to Plato and Hermes Trismegisthus, and to Justinus Martyr and Athanasius. That the emblem contains a piece of advice that suits other professions too, is illustrated by references to Gellius, Tacitus and Ammianus Marcellinus. At the end of his commentary, Junius returns to a Church Father, Clement of Alexandria, who mentioned the palm-tree as an attribute in the Egyptian religious cult. In regard to the picture, Junius points to the model that can be found in Dioscurides' work.

Priority of the Picture?

The way in which Junius gathers his material and chooses the texts that illustrate the emblems seems to suggest that the starting point was not so much the motto, nor the epigram, but the picture. This is, of course, most obvious in an emblem like 'Medici Icon' (no. 25). Now, this could be an exception to honour his own profession, but there is more. The decision to write epigrams of only four lines implied a radical restriction of the poetical element, which not only had to cover the picture, but also to add the ethical application. The picture, however, left room for much more imagination. As can be seen above, the epigram of the Momus emblem is exclusively concerned with Momus and the human figure he prepared, but the picture shows four more human-like figures and other elements, whose presence is explained in the commentary.

This way of thinking and working also explains Junius' detailed suggestions, not to say prescripts, according to which the pictures should be designed. Moreover, it has its consequences for the selection of the favourite authors. This makes it understandable that among the Greek authors Pausanias

⁷³ Junius refers to Hugo Etherianus, *De haeresibus quas Graeci in Latinos devolvunt*, Migne *PL* 202, 227-395.

is prominently present in the commentary with seven quotations. Pausanias' descriptions of statues of ancient gods and heroes furnish Junius with the models or with particular elements to compose the pictures containing mythological figures. Like Alciato before him, Junius found a stimulus in the mysterious *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo, which has been quoted six times. Since animals play an important part in the emblems, Aelian's work on animals is another favourite, quoted five times. Rare or single quotations from Aristotle, Theophrastus and Oppianus also owe their selection to Junius' interest in animals. The name of Philostratus, connected with a book on images, is mentioned only three times. The Church Father Clement of Alexandria, whose allegorical way of reading religious texts certainly appealed to many emblematisers, provided Junius five times with interesting details for his pictures.

Junius' Discovery: Plutarch and his Book on Isis and Osiris

Junius' favourite and most inspiring Greek author, however, seems to be Plutarch. The commentary gives nine references to his works. Six of these have been borrowed from the small book on Isis and Osiris, which, like Pausanias for Greece, offers a great quantity of visual material for Egypt. These six borrowings deserve individual treatment since each of them without exception offered an essential inspiration for the emblem concerned.

Junius opens his commentary on emblem no. 18, 'Audito multa, loquitur pauca' ('Listen to much, but speak sparingly'), with a quotation in Latin translation from Plutarch's survey of animals worshipped by the Egyptians. Among these are the weasel and the crocodile. The quote in the commentary concerns the weasel: 'Many of them believe and argue (Plutarch says in his book on Isis and Osiris) that the weasel undergoes penetration and conceives through her ear, but that it gives birth through her mouth, so that there is a certain similarity with the birth of speech'.⁷⁴ After this quote, Junius cites a number of Greek authors from Pindar and Aristotle to the Byzantine Tetzels to prove the continuous astonishment about this remarkable biological phenomenon. Other texts are quoted to illustrate the moral lesson the emblem contains, that is, to be careful and sparse in speaking. This aspect of the emblem

⁷⁴ Cf. Plutarchus, *De Iside et Osiride* ch. 74, 381A, in Junius' translation (p. 95): 'Mustelam (inquit Plutarchus libro de Iside et osiride) plerique arbitrantur et affirmant per aurem initum pati atque concipere, sed ore partum edere, natalium sermonis quadam similitudine'.

even gives rise – very exceptional – to a reference to a biblical passage.⁷⁵ As to the picture, Junius only remarks that it is obvious how to compose it: 'Picturae ratio per se evidens est'. This does not imply that the artist was free to choose between the two moments of the peculiar biological process, the conception or the birth, for the first moment would certainly have been against the *decorum* of the literary genre. And indeed, the actual picture shows a weasel in a wild and hilly landscape, throwing up her young out of her mouth.

The next emblem, no. 19, inscribed 'Providentia' ('providence' or 'prudence'), may also have been inspired by Plutarch. It shows a crocodile, the animal mentioned in one breath with the weasel not only in the biblical passage quoted in the preceding emblem, but also in Plutarch's survey of worshipped animals in the Isis book. Junius' commentary starts, however, by paraphrasing the description of the crocodile from Plinius' *Naturalis Historia* (8, 89), supplied with details from Solinus, Ammianus Marcellinus and Herodotus. The rest of the comments summarizes a similar description by Plutarch which offers more details about the laying and hatching of the crocodile eggs.⁷⁶ The animal cannot lay its eggs in the water, nor does it want to lay them too far from the water. However, it unerringly senses by instinct how far the Nile is going to inundate the land in the coming season and precisely there it lays its eggs. This makes it the symbol of prudence: 'We are warned that we have to act in a prudent way and should examine and think on things beforehand, long before we decide or execute them'. Junius omits Plutarch's information that the number of the eggs is sixty. Moreover, Junius does not offer any indication at all in regard to the picture. The artist designed only one crocodile and only five eggs. As has been said, he used his freedom to put his initials in the centre of the picture.

The third reference to Plutarch's Isis book opens the comments on emblem no. 24, 'Virginem pudicitiae, matronam domus satagere' ('A virgin should care for her chastity, a married woman for her house'). The motto and its explanation in the picture and the epigram undoubtedly reveal a direct inspiration from Plutarch's remark on the contrasting statues of the goddesses Athena and Venus, of which the comments give a faithful Latin translation:

⁷⁵ The authors quoted are Aristotle, Aristaeas, Horapollon, Tetzels, Lycophron, Epictetus, Lucian, and Pindar; the biblical reference is to Leviticus 11:29, forbidding the eating of the weasel and the crocodile.

⁷⁶ 97, freely translating Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 75, 381B-C: 'Addit Plutarchus libro de iside, Aegyptios certum conicere Nili incrementi terminum ibi fore, ubi ova exclusit femina: nam cum in homido fovere nequeant Crocodili, et procul a fluminis alveo parere metuunt, inta exacte praesentiant naturae tacito instinctu quod futurum est, ut accessu fluvij in pariendo, incubandoque (quod alternis observant mas et femina) utantur, atque ita ova arida et inhumecta conservent'; then Junius concludes: Monemur prudenter rerum satagere, longoque ante consultare atque videre, quam quid statuamus aut agamus'.

It has been reported by Plutarch in his book on Isis, that Phidias, the sculptor of most renowned fame, has made a statue of Pallas pressing a dragon below her feet and for the inhabitants of Elis another one of Venus standing on a tortoise, to indicate that the first statue represents the watching of oneself, which suits a virgin and the last the silence and the care for the household, which suits the married woman.⁷⁷

Junius had not much to add to Plutarch's description with its moral lesson, which itself sounds like an emblem. Instead, he gives very detailed suggestions in regard to the presentation of the goddesses and their attributes. The artist has followed them faithfully. Only the addition of a sitting Cupid may have been his own idea. At the end of his comments Junius added a few words about the symbolic meaning of Venus' nudity and her attributes. Moreover, he points to the word 'domiporta' he used in his epigram; he had found it in a line of verse quoted by Cicero.⁷⁸

The picture of emblem no. 27, 'Sermo de Deo apertus, mens sit occulta' ('Our talking about God should be open, what we think in our mind should be hidden'), shows a pleasant tree against a fine hilly background. The epigram explains that the picture shows a *Persea*-tree, whose leaves have a similarity with the human tongue and whose fruits look like a heart. Both these latter details and their symbolic interpretation Junius owed to a passage of Plutarch's Isis book, which he translated into Latin, as follows: 'Among the plants that Egypt bears, they want the *Persea*-tree to be sacred to Isis more than all the others, because its fruit shows the shape of the heart and its leaf that of the tongue. For among all the gifts God bestowed on man there is nothing more divine than speech, particularly when it concerns God, and nothing has more influence on true happiness. So far Plutarch'.⁷⁹

The picture and the epigram of emblem no. 45, 'Deum odisse impudentiam' ('It is an insolence to hate God'), are based on the description by Plutarch of a hieroglyphic sculpture in a temple of Minerva at Saïs. Junius' comments are nothing but a paraphrasing translation of Plutarch's enumeration

⁷⁷ 107, almost literally rendering Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 75, 381E: 'Proditum est a Plutarcho libro de Iside, Phidiam clarissimi nominis statuarium, finxisse Palladis simulacrum, pedibus prementis Draconem; et alterum Veneris apud Elaeos pede calcantis testudinem: argumento in illa custodiae sui, quae virginem deceat; in hac silentij curaeque rei domesticae, quae matronam deceant'.

⁷⁸ Cf. Cicero, *De divinatione* 2, 133.

⁷⁹ 115, rendering Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 68, 378C: 'De hac Plutarchus, lib. de Iside, in hunc modum. Inter plantas quas fert Aegyptus, Perseam eximie prae ceteris Isidi sacram esse voluerunt, quod eius fructus, cordis speciem, folium, linguae repraesentet: nihil enim inter omnia, quae homini a Deo data sunt, divinius est sermone, praesertim qui de Deo instituitur, neque maius ad veram felicitatem momentum obtinet. Haec ille'.

and symbolic interpretation of the five figures of the sculpture, child, aged man, hawk, fish and hippopotamus.⁸⁰ However, Junius added a specific biological description of the hippopotamus, based on descriptions by Ammianus Marcellinus, Pliny and Solinus. Junius' description was not of great help to the designer of the picture, which shows us an odd horse on high legs, with short head and tail, but still a horse instead of a hippopotamus.

Emblem no. 48, 'Princeps ne cui aures servas praebeat' ('A prince should not lend servile ears to anyone'), has been borrowed, so Junius' comments, from Plutarch's 'already often quoted' book on Isis. Plutarch's succinct information of two lines offers Junius everything he needs: the motto, the epigram and the opening passage of the comments, which is an amplified Latin rendering of the Greek: 'In Crete there was a statue of Jupiter with mutilated ears; with this symbol the artist wanted to suggest that a prince, who has power over all people, should not make his ears the slave of anybody, that is, accommodate his ears in such a way that they seem to be the possession of the other one, who would be able to abuse their indulgence'.⁸¹

As has been suggested earlier, there are three more references to Plutarch's works. The first is to the work Junius entitles as *De silentibus Pythiae oraculis*. One would expect this to be the *De defectu oraculorum*, but the passage quoted stems from *De Pythiae oraculis*.⁸² It inspired Junius for his emblem no. 9, 'Invidia integritatis assecla' ('Envy is the follower of integrity'). Plutarch mentions a votive bronze palm-tree in the treasure house at Corinth with frogs and water snakes around its roots. Since a palm-tree does not grow in marshes or humid places, the combination with frogs and snakes is puzzling, as Plutarch remarks. It must have a symbolic meaning and Junius is convinced it is indicating that 'clamorous brawlers (with Pliny I like to use this Catonian word) and slanderous tongues of the invidious, armed with pernicious poison, attack the lives of those who, not over a curved, but over a straight road, move up to dignities and to the highest positions'.⁸³ Here again, Plutarch's text

⁸⁰ 136, freely rendering Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 32, 363F-364A; Junius' addition is based on Ammianus Marcellinus *Res gestae*, 22, 15, 21-23, Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 8, 95; Solinus, *De mirabilibus mundi*, 33.

⁸¹ 139, rendering Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 75, 381E: 'In Creta Iovis fuit statua, auribus mutila: quo symbolo innuere coluit artifex, principem et qui ius in omnes habeat, non debere alicui aures suas mancipio dare, hoc est, ita accommodare ut ab illo possessae videantur, utque illarum obsequio abuti queat'; F.C. Babbitt's translation of Plutarch's short sentence in the Loeb edition is as follows: 'in Crete there was a statue of Zeus having no ears; for it is not fitting for the Ruler and Lord of all to listen to anyone'.

⁸² 81, on Emblem no. 9: 'Plutarchus in libro, quem de silentio Pythiae oraculis scripsit'; the reference is to *De Pythiae oraculis* 12 (399F).

⁸³ 81-82: 'innui existimo, a vitiligatoribus (libenter enim Catoniana voce cum Plinio utor) obstreperis ac maledicis invidorum linguis, exitiali veneno armatis, impeti illorum vitas, qui non obliqua, sed recta ratione ad dignitates rerumque fastigia emergunt.

offered all the elements needed to compose an eloquent emblem. Junius had not even to add any information as to the composition of the picture. Another reference to Plutarch is interesting as far as it concerns the *Symposiaca problemata*, a work Junius had translated into Latin many years before. Finally, Junius' commentary has a very vague reference which concerns the characteristics of the goddess Fortune.⁸⁴

The prolific Greek historian and moralist Plutarch became a well-known author to the humanists in the fifteenth century thanks to the Byzantine diplomats and immigrants, who came to Italy. Angelo Poliziano was maybe the first to make a Latin translation of a minor work. In his footsteps Guillaume Budé, Erasmus, Melancthon and others had followed. Thus, with his translation of the *Symposiaca* (1547), Junius had sided with an illustrious group of humanist predecessors. However, we do not know when or how Junius became aware of the usefulness of Plutarch's works in general, and of his book on Isis and Osiris in particular, to create new emblems. It must have been a real discovery for him. Though a small work, the book appeared to be a gold mine of cut-and-dried texts which contained as in a nutshell all the elements needed to compose an emblem. Junius' *Emblemata* prove abundantly how skilfully he knew to draw his materials from such a helpful source.

The Latin Authors

Plutarch's prominent place has something to do with Junius' preference for emblems from the world of animals. Henkel and Schöne classified 21 of the 58 emblems within their 'Tierwelt'. Another source for the description of animals and their proprieties and of other elements from the physical world is the *Naturalis historia* of Pliny the Elder, the author quoted or mentioned by Junius more frequently than any other, altogether about seventeen times. The other Romans remain far behind him. Horace owes seven out of ten references and Servius his nine ones (and Boethius his three ones) to the metrical schemes he provided. So Horace, like Virgil, was not an important source for Junius' emblems. Cicero surpasses the poets with six references, but he is, surprisingly enough, equalled by Ammianus Marcellinus, partly, as we have seen, thanks to his passages on Egyptian affairs. Single poetical quotations of some length are borrowed from Columella (no. 27), Lucretius (no. 36) and Ovid (no. 31). The references to other authors are too incidental to draw conclusions as to their specific influence on Junius.

⁸⁴ 123 on emblem nos. 34 and 113 on emblem no. 26, respectively.

As a last remark on the commentary, it may be added that Junius twice uses a French word (p. 92 'un hupe', for the bird 'upupa', the hoopoe; p. 148, 'chenilles') and once a Dutch word (p. 80, a plant called 'Pylstaert').

The Reception of Junius' Emblemata: Editions and Translations

A letter, dated 2 June 1565, reveals an impatient Junius waiting for the first copies of his *Emblemata* and other recent publications. Three other, unfortunately undated letters, written to persons honoured with one of Junius' emblems and mentioning the publication, must be of the same period. One announces that Junius has had copies of his book sent to Hopperus and Viglius, another accompanies the copy for Cornelius Musius, a third promises to send one soon.⁸⁵

In the last ten years of his life, Junius enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing his emblem book several times republished, both in the original Latin and in translation. In 1566, Plantin had already produced a second edition. Other editions printed at the Plantin Press at Antwerp followed in 1569, 1575, 1585 and 1596, and at Leiden in 1585 and again, in two issues, in 1596. In the 1585 editions the number of emblems has been enlarged by the inclusion of four new emblems, the first of which is addressed to Junius' son Petrus. Facsimile editions of the first edition were published in Menston in 1972, with an introduction by H.M. Black, and in Hildesheim in 1987.⁸⁶

Junius informed Plantin in an undated letter, probably written in 1565 or 1566, that it was suggested to him that the publication of a Dutch edition would be a good idea. He proposed that he, if Plantin could agree, ask the Haarlem poet Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert to take care of the epigrams, whilst he himself would find time to do the rest.⁸⁷ However, it was not Coornhert in collaboration with Junius, but Marcus Antonius Gilles van Diest

⁸⁵ Cf. *Epistolae* 1652, 428 (Iacobo a Warmonde, 2 June 1565): 'Exierunt ab eo (=Plantin) Emblemata mea, quae nondum accepi'; 285 (Ioachimo Hoppero, without date): 'Emblematum meorum exemplaria bina accepisse vos puto, quae ad te et D. Viglium mittenda curavi'; *Epistolae* 1839, 64 (Cornelio Musio Delphensi, without date): 'En tibi levidense munusculum Emblemata nostra cum Aenigmatum libello, in quibus tuum quoque nomen per se licet celebre, nostris scriptis ornamento esse volui'; 77 (Splintero ab Hagen, 28 April, without year): 'Emblemata ubi accepero, mittam ad te exemplum, cuius nunc specimen exhibeo Cobelio'.

⁸⁶ Cf. J. Landwehr, *Emblem and Fable Books Printed in the Low Countries 1542-1813. A Bibliography* (Utrecht, 1988³) 155-157, nos. 398-406; Voet, *The Plantin Press*, III, 1272-1280, nos. 1476-1481B.

⁸⁷ Cf. *Epistolae* 1839, 63-64: 'Multi existimant non abs re fore, si mea Emblemata nostrate lingua evulgentur, si idem tibi probaretur, agerem cum Theodorico Volcardo in rythmis praestante artifice, ut in meam ille gratiam versus rythmis includeret, caetera ego facile per otium detrivim'.

who did the Dutch translation which Plantin published in 1567 and again in 1575. A facsimile of it, extended by a translation of the four emblems added in the Latin edition of 1585, was published with an introduction by Max Rooses in Antwerp in 1902.

Also in 1567, Plantin published a French translation by Jacques Grévin. This translation was re-edited in 1568, 1570 and 1575, and, like the Dutch translation, it was published in a facsimile-edition by Max Rooses in 1902.⁸⁸

Junius' Emblemata in Later Emblem Books

Since Junius was one of the early authors in the emblematic literature, no less than 45 of his 58 emblems, and two of the four added in the 1585 edition, have been reproduced in the indispensable 'Henkel and Schöne'. This is a useful aid to illustrating the use later emblematisers have made of the collection.⁸⁹

In 1586, the Plantin Press in Leiden, directed by Plantin's son-in-law Franciscus Raphelengius, published *A Choice of Emblemes*, gathered and partly composed by the poet Geoffrey Whitney, who had come to Leiden as a soldier in the wake of the Earl of Leicester. He soon left military service and matriculated at the university. The majority of the emblems and their pictures stem from the various emblem books Plantin had printed up to then. Fifteen of them were borrowed from Junius' collection.⁹⁰ Other authors of emblem books in the Netherlands and in Germany directly or indirectly found models or sources in some of Junius' emblems. Junius' emblem no. 4, 'Impunitas ferociae parens', was used by Whitney, but, with a different motto, also by Joachim Camerarius and Rollenhagen.⁹¹ The theme of his no. 49, 'Amoris ingenui tormentum', returns in Whitney's collection, Rollenhagen used the picture twice, with an Italian motto, the second of which is the quotation from Petrarch, written in Junius' picture. This quotation returns in one of Daniel Heinsius' emblems, whilst the picture has parallels in the emblems of Juan de Boria and

⁸⁸ For the Dutch and French editions, see Landwehr, *Emblem and Fable Books Printed in the Low Countries*, 157-158, nos. 407-412; Voet *The Plantin Press*, III, 1281-1285, nos. 1482-1487; cf. also A. Adams, 'Jacques Grévin et sa traduction française des Emblemata d'Hadrianus Junius', *De Gulden Passer* 73 (1995) 37-66.

⁸⁹ Arthur Henkel und Albrecht Schöne (eds.), *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1967); references are to the *Taschenausgabe*, Stuttgart-Weimar 1996.

⁹⁰ Cf. Mason Tung, 'Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes* Revisited: A Comparative Study of the Manuscript and the Printed Versions', *Studies in Bibliography* 29 (1976) 32-101; J.A. van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons, and Professors. Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers, and the Leiden Humanists* (Leiden-London, 1962) 123-138 and *passim*; Henkel and Schöne, *Emblemata*, lvi.

⁹¹ See Henkel and Schöne, *Emblemata*, 595.

Camerarius.⁹² A lesser-known collection of emblems (not included in Henkel-Schöne), in which Junius is quoted no less than thirty times, is Juan de Solórzano Pereira's *Emblemata centum regio politica* [...] (Madrid: D. Garcia Morrás, 1653).⁹³ Other authors who show traces of use of Junius' emblems are Laurentius Haechtmanus and Nicolaus Reusner.⁹⁴

Junius' Emblemata used as Album Amicorum

The prime of the album amicorum, particularly within academic circles, roughly coincides with that of the emblem book. Many copies of emblem books, often interleaved with blank pages, have served to collect album entries. No systematic research in this field has been done, but Wolfgang Klose's rich inventory of sixteenth-century alba amicorum contains an overview of emblem books used as albums. Klose mentions for the various editions the following numbers: 1565: 2 alba; 1566: 4 alba; 1575: 3 alba 1585: 2 alba; without year of publication: 1 album.⁹⁵ Two examples can be added. A peculiar copy of the first edition, belonging to the Stirling Maxwell Collection of the University Library of Glasgow, was used by Solinus a Sixma as his album.⁹⁶ A copy of the 1596 edition, used as album amicorum by Laurentius Olai Wallius, has been signalled by A. Davidsson.⁹⁷ It would probably not be difficult to extend the number of such alba amicorum.

Junius' emblem book did not only inspire people to start an album amicorum, it also could inspire people who were entreated to write an entry in an album. When we compare the vocabulary and the syntactical constructions of Junius' epigram on Momus with the first distichs of an entry by the Dutch Neo-Latin poet Filibert van Borsselen in the album of Jean Le Seur,⁹⁸ we can scarcely but conclude that Filibert knew and used Junius' epigram:

⁹² *Ibidem*, 910-911. For Rollenhagen, see the contribution by Veldman and Klein in this volume, in particular page 285.

⁹³ See Chris L. Heesakkers, Beatriz Antón, 'Herederos de Alciato en Holanda y España: Adriano Junio (*Emblemata*, 1565) y Juan de Solórzano Pereira (*Emblemata centum regio politica*, 1653)', forthcoming in the proceedings of the *IV Congreso de la Sociedad de Estudios Latinos*, Medina del Campo, May 2003.

⁹⁴ Cf. Henkel and Schöne, *Emblemata*, 595, for Junius' emblem no. 4, and 910-911 for no. 49.

⁹⁵ W. Klose, *Corpus Alborum Amicorum - CAAC - Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Stammbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1988) 362.

⁹⁶ Shelf-mark SM 658.2; cf. A. Adams, 'An expensive compositorial misreading: the reset gathering in Hadrianus Junius' *Emblemata*, 1565' *The Library*, 6th Series, 17 (1995) 345-348.

⁹⁷ Cf. Åke Davidsson, 'Med studenter och lärde i främmande land. Kring några stamböcker i Stifts- och landsbiblioteket i Linköping', *Linköpings Bibliotekets Handlingar* 6 (1970) 6 (5-36).

⁹⁸ Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, shelfmark 325 F 11: Theodoor de Bry, *Emblemata nobilitati et vulgo scitu digna* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1592) used by Jean Le Seur as *album amicorum* (1593-1597);

Intima si possint cerni penetralia cordis,
 Clathratoque foret pectore nudus homo,
 Judice vel Momo, subiecta fidelibus essent
 Cuncta oculis, fuerat nilque opus indicijs:
 Sed quia pectoribus nostris celamus amorem.
 Nec facile agnoscas quid specus iste tegat [...]

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The *Emblemata* of Théodore de Bèze (1580)*

ALISON ADAMS

The Frenchman, Théodore de Bèze (1519-1605), or Beza, must be esteemed as one of the leading figures of the sixteenth century; but few would be aware that he turned his hand to emblems. His importance lies of course primarily in the role he played within the Reformed (Calvinist) Church. For the theologian or historian, he is the man who represented Calvin at the Colloque de Poissy in 1561, and succeeded him as Pastor in Geneva on his death in 1564, the man who might just have succeeded in making France a Protestant rather than a Catholic country, and who subsequently tried to negotiate with Lutherans at Montbéliard in 1586. For the student of French literature, on the other hand, he might be known for his play *Abraham sacrificiant* (1550), or for his continuation of the translation of the Psalms (1553), originally undertaken by Clément Marot, and his New Testament translations in the Geneva Bible.¹

Bèze was born in Vézelay and received a humanist education. His early publications, secular Neo-Latin verse, reflect this.² But in 1548, like many followers of the Reformed faith, he fled to Switzerland where he taught Greek in Lausanne before settling in Geneva. His tragedy *Abraham sacrificiant* (1550) represented a considerable change in orientation, rejecting Pléiade ideals for Calvinist 'simplicity'. Thenceforward there seems to have been no time for literary productions. Bèze became Calvin's collaborator, acting as his representative in France, conversing and corresponding in Latin and French with leading court figures and with theologians across Europe. Henceforward, his publications were theological and historical in orientation. Bèze's emblems constitute a surprising anomaly within his *oeuvre*.

* I am grateful to Alain Dufour, Max Engammare and Ian Hazlett for suggestions during my investigations into Bèze's emblems.

¹ For more general information on Bèze, his life and his political activities, and for recent bibliographical details, see Scott M. Manetsch, *Theodore Beza and the Quest for Peace, 1572-1598* (Leiden-Boston, 2000). Also of particular interest for Bèze's life is his *Correspondance*, vol. 1—(Geneva, 1960—).

² *Poemata* (Paris: C. Badius, 1548); Alexandre Machard (ed.), *Théodore de Bèze. Les Juvenilia* (1st edition: Paris, 1879; reprint: Geneva, 1970). Despite its refinement, some of the verse in the collection was deemed licentious in subject matter and Bèze's enemies were to exploit this.

Some thirteen years before Bèze's emblems appeared, Georgette de Montenay had written an emblem book, *Les Emblemes ou devises chretiennes* (1567), dedicated to the Calvinist Queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret, in which she uses the genre to preach her Christian and often overtly Calvinist faith. Was this the stimulus which caused Bèze to compose his forty-four emblems? If so, they could hardly be more different. To start with they are of course in Latin, and function in a fundamentally different manner: Georgette de Montenay's emblems mostly rely on a web of complex allusions to the Bible, both through the text (many mottoes are quotations which need to be recognised and completed), and through the engraved *picturae* executed by Pierre Woeriot, whereas Bèze's emblems, as will be seen, are mostly striking in their simplicity and logical clarity. They are presented as part of his *Icones, id est verae imagines virorum doctrina simul et pietate illustrium, quorum praecipue ministerio partim bonarum literarum studia sunt restituta, partim vera Religio in variis orbis Christiani regionibus, nostra patrumque memoria fuit instaurata: additis eorundem vitae et operae descriptionibus, quibus adiectae sunt nonnullae picturae quas Emblemata vocant* (Geneva: Jean de Laon, 1580), and the *Icones* for their part have been seen as complementing the *Histoire ecclésiastique*.³ The *Icones* are translated into French the following year by Simon Goulart, Bèze's Calvinist colleague and successor at the Genevan synod.

Bèze himself seems to regard the emblems as little more than an appendix to the *Icones*, writing in his dedicatory epistle to James VI of Scotland:

Subiunxi praeterca Emblemata quadraginta et quatuor, quae, quod graves et pias sententias complectantur, eruditus lectoribus non ingrata fore mihi persuasi (Epistola, fol. *iijro).

³ My study uses copies of the 1580 *Icones* and the 1581 *Les vrais pourtraits* from Glasgow University Library. Reprints: R.M. Cummings (ed.), *Theodore de Bèze. Icones* (Menston, 1971); Alain Dufour (ed.), *Théodore de Bèze. Les vrais portraits des hommes illustres* (Geneva, 1986). Catherine Randall Coats, *(Em)bodying the Word. Textual Resurrections in the Martyrological Narratives of Foxe, Crespin, de Bèze and d'Aubigné* [Renaissance and Baroque Studies and Texts 4] (New York, 1992) 2. Frédéric Gardy, *Bibliographie des oeuvres théologiques, littéraires, historiques et juridiques de Théodore de Bèze* (Geneva, 1960) concludes that the *Histoire ecclésiastique* was not by Bèze although he collected material for it (p. 222). The *Icones* of 1580 should not be confused with the group of 'Icones' present in editions of Bèze's *Poemata* from 1569 onwards. For bibliographical information about emblematic works, see Alison Adams, Stephen Rawles, Alison Saunders (eds.), *A Bibliography of French Emblems Books*, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1999 and 2002).

(Moreover I added forty-four emblems which, because they comprise serious and godly sentiments, I am sure will not be displeasing to learned readers).

'Pietas', literally 'godliness', is a word which at this period is used to signify a personal religious response, and so true faith, in the Reformed sense, and Goulart translates 'graves et pias sententias' as 'des sentences notables et Chrestienes', and similarly 'vera pietas' as 'la vraye Religion'. The emphasis is clearly on 'vera' (true), by implication as opposed to other religions which are not true. Referring to the word *Emblemata*, Bèze continues:

Sunt autem, opinor, sic appellata, quod imagines eiusmodi sententiosae opere tessellato parietibus aut vasis inseri consueverint (Epistola, fol. *ijro).

(I think that they are given this name because pithy images of this kind, in tessellated work, are customarily inserted on to walls and dishes).

— a comment which Goulart excluded from his French version.⁴

Structure: Themes of the Emblemata

The structure of the collection suggests that Bèze's aim was to set human endeavour within a context of faith.⁵ Emblems 1 to 3 and emblems 40 to 42 form a kind of frame (with 43 and 44 as a coda) which, in pseudo-scientific fashion, defines the earth and by implication mankind. The *picturae* of emblems 1 to 3 are clearly related to each other; as their complexity increases, so an argument is constructed.

⁴ Catherine Randall Coats has recently argued that the forty-four emblems appended to the *Icones* 'function as a metatext', alerting the reader to the way in which the *Icones* proper have to be read. Only one of the illustrations for the *Icones* functions in a properly emblematic manner: Michel L'Hôpital is portrayed with a candle behind his head, as if he had turned from the light. Randall Coats's argument is much weakened by being based on the translation by Goulart whose voice is markedly different from Bèze's.

⁵ In the later Geneva editions (2nd state of 1597/1598 and 1599), emblems 12, 19, 29 and 30 are moved to the end of the sequence and unillustrated, but that is presumably because the woodcuts have been lost. The first state of the Geneva 1597/8 and the Hanau 1598 editions maintain the original order, though with some emblems omitted (25, 31, 37-39, 44).

The first emblem focuses on a circle, presented against a naturalistic, even a domesticated background (see fig. 1); such backgrounding is the normal pattern in this book, even when the main focus of the *pictura* is symbolical, as the circle is. It perhaps invites the reader to apply the symbolical element to himself. The text in Latin addresses the reader directly, by the use of the second person:

Principium in tereti quaeris quicunque figura,
Principium invenies hic ubi finis erit.

(You who seek the beginning in a rounded figure, will find the beginning where the end is).

The word 'figura' directs the attention to the *pictura*, the starting point for this and for all the emblems; and the collocation of 'principium' and 'finis' immediately draws the reader into the religious context as in, for instance, Apoc. 1:8, where our beginning and end are defined as being God Himself: 'ego sum principium et finis dicit Dominus Deus [...]' ('I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord'). Such biblical allusion is not characteristic of Bèze, and even here the precise passage is unimportant; we are not invited (as is the case when reading Georgette de Montenay) to ponder further on the context in the Apocalypse. All that is demanded is the recognition of the terms 'principium' and 'finis', as code words. The moral is expressed as sparingly as the *pictura* itself. Simon Goulart's French version contrasts with this approach: the sense is spelt out more explicitly with the role of Christ emphasised, and the whole expressed in an emotive manner absent from Bèze's original ('sans fard', 'ardamment': line 4):

Quiconque veut au rond cercher commencement,
Le trouue au mesme endroit ou la fin est unie,
Aussi toy qui sans fard aimes Christ ardamment.
A la fin de tes iours commenceras ta vie (Goulart, 1581).

Our purpose here is to look at the original, but comparison between the Latin and French serves to highlight the characteristic simplicity and logical

clarity of Bèze, as against the more persuasive and emotive stance of Goulart.⁶

The second emblem, similarly diagrammatic, shows the earth, a smaller circle, within a larger one:

Cernis ut haec medium cingat teres undique, punctum
 Linea, et hinc spatio distet et inde pari?
 Scilicet illa refert quod nos tegit undique caelum,
 Tellurem hoc punctum quod tenet ima notat.
 Cur igitur doleas, quorsum dic, quaeso, labores,
 Tu patria pepulit quem pietatis amor?
 Caelum si versus tendis, quocunque recedes,
 Hinc spatio caelum cernis et inde pari.

(Do you see how this circle surrounds a central point on all sides, and is always at the same distance from it? It denotes the heavens which always cover us on all sides, and this point which it contains, the lesser circle, signifies the earth. Why therefore do you grieve, to what end say, I beseech you, do you labour, you whom love of your faith drove from your country? If you tend towards heaven wherever you go, you see heaven at the same distance in all directions).

The readership that Bèze is foreseeing is implicitly identified here as those exiled for their faith (line 6), and the tone, perhaps reflecting Bèze's own experience, is more personal, even uncharacteristically emotive, with the use of repetition and rhetorical question, and of course the first person 'quaeso'. The emblem is carefully structured with the verb 'cernis' underlining the parallel between the visual element (lines 1-4), and its interpretation (5-8): the constant imminence of heaven.

The third emblem reduces the cosmic argument to a human level. The striking image of a cube within a circle is interpreted as an injunction to all of us (the second person singular is used again) to follow the true ('verum') path of life, 'in statione', presumably according to our appointed station, that is with humility:

Stare cubum in tereti cernis quicunque figura,
 Hinc vitae verum discito cautus iter.

⁶ In later editions, a second couplet is added to the Latin ('Sic Christum vero quisquis revereris amore, / Quae vitam hora tibi finiet, incipiet'.) Even if Goulart knew this version, the emotive elements are still lacking.

Mores illa docet teretes, hic figere iussa
Te iubet immotos in statione gradus.

(You who see a cube in a rounded figure, learn with due attention from this that this is the true path of life. It (the circle) teaches elegant (rounded) behaviour, orders you to direct steady steps in your appointed station).

The links between the three introductory emblems are underlined by the repeated vocabulary ('teres', 'figura', 'cernere'), their clear bipartite division between the visual and its interpretation, and the constant viewpoint provided by the second person addressing the reader. Thereafter the viewpoint changes and varies from emblem to emblem (in emblem 4, the second person is Christ Himself). But the three emblems defined as completing the framing structure (40-42) cohere in a similar fashion; they are linked by their confident expression of a general truth, their clear bipartite structure (first half descriptive, second interpretive introduced by 'Sic' — a pattern admittedly found in many other emblems of the collection), as well as, more obviously, their constant imagery in which the sun represents God/Christ, and the moon the Church or the people of God, depicted in the *pictura* in a pre-Galilean arrangement. Here too, we find a developing argument: first in emblem 40 the Church (moon) shining with Christ's (the sun's) reflected light; then (41), with the image of an eclipse of the moon, the idea that man (the earth), even in his wisdom, tarnishes the radiance of the Church; and finally (42) the paradox of the radiance of eternal life, contrasted with man's perception of death (expressed through the image of the moon which, when invisible to us (at new moon), nevertheless has its further side illumined by the sun). This emblem could be said also to be linked to the first emblem in the collection, and thus to stress the framing structure of the two groups, with the sense of death as a return to Christ, of the link between beginning and end.

While the framework serves to underline the Christian significance, a modern reader would not necessarily place this within the Reformed Church, although the reference to those expelled from their own country (2) situates it historically if not doctrinally. Of course, the contemporary reader knew what to expect from Bèze: the emphasis on the person of Christ is characteristic of Protestant thinking, and it is perhaps relevant to note that Goulart introduces the individual's relationship to Christ explicitly in his version of the very first emblem. It is in emblem 4, immediately after the introductory group, that Bèze himself first stresses this aspect: the second

couplet, addressed to Christ, has the tone of a prayer, in marked contrast to the cool and mostly logical presentation up to this point:

Nos te, Christe, agnum canimus. Nam divite gestas
Tu vere veras vellere solus opes (lines 3-4).

(We, O Christ, acclaim you, the lamb. For you alone truly bear true wealth with your rich fleece).

The change in focus is underlined by the second person used now not for us, the readers, but for Christ: we are drawn in by the progression of arguments of the first three emblems, and are now assumed to join the writer in the 'nos' ('we') of line 3, in recognising/singing of ('canimus') the Lamb, but not, of course, in worshipping Him/It as an image.

The principle governing the arrangement of the remaining emblems is more difficult to discern. And the subject matter is not always as manifestly Christian as in the analysed framing emblems. Certain emblems express general moral truths without reference to faith. But others are outspoken in their espousal of the Protestant and anti-Papist cause.

Emblems 4 to 12 form a uniformly Christian group, most focusing on the promise of eternal life, which awaits the Christian whose faith is sure, for instance in emblem 6, using the image of the phoenix:

Ite o carnifices, Sanctorum sancta cremate
Corpora. Quos vultis perdere flamma perit (lines 3-4).

(Go, O executioners, burn the holy bodies of the Saints. To those whom you want to destroy, the flame gives life).

The contrast between the dangers faced by believers and their saintly rewards is underlined. The 'Sancti' here are of course not the Saints in the sense of those whose sanctity has been specifically recognised by the (Roman Catholic) church, but the 'saved'; they can perhaps be interpreted as referring to the figures featuring in the *Icones*.⁷ Stressed too is the importance of faith: justification, i.e. salvation, through faith alone, is a main tenet of Protestant thought. The importance of scripture is another fundamental of Protestant thinking: thus, in emblem 7, Bèze uses the image

⁷ Randall Coats, *(Em)bodying the Word*, 101.

of food and drink (seen laid out on a table) not as a Eucharistic image,⁸ but as an image for 'divina verba' ('the word of God'):

Sic coetus spectasse pios, divinaque verba
Audisse attenta nil licet aure iuvat,
Haec nisi percipiatque fides [...] (lines 3-5).

(In the same way, it does not help to have gazed on the holy [i.e. of faithful] crowds, nor to have heard the words of God, even if with an attentive ear, if faith does not take hold of them).

An attentive ear is not enough to 'digest' the Words of God if faith does not work on them ('coquere' is literally to cook, but metaphorically to inwardly digest or meditate on something).

In emblem 12, Bèze uses another natural image, rain, or perhaps a storm to express the primacy of faith in the fulfilment of salvation:

Ceu rutilis idem qui dissilit ignibus aether,
Foecundas gravido pectore fundit aquas,
Vita fide sic Christus erit tibi viva receptus,
Spretus at hic idem mors tibi Christus erit.

(Just as the same heavens which burst out with red fire, pour out life-giving waters from their laden heart, so Christ received in faith will be living life to you, but this same Christ, if spurned, will be death to you).

As the heavens can produce both destructive fire and life-giving rain, so Christ can bring both life and death, and it is faith which determines His life-giving qualities. The juxtaposition of 'vita' and 'fide' at the beginning of line 3, and the almost tautologous 'vita [...] viva', along with the structural repetition in lines 3 and 4 underline what is a doctrinal statement.

After this powerful set of explicitly religious emblems, the following three (13, 14 and 15), on the surface at least, express the kind of general moral truth found in Aleiatio or many other emblem writers: emblem 13 uses the image of a barrel falling apart for a state insufficiently supported by the

⁸ Randall Coats discusses the metaphor of textual feeding, *(Em)bodying the Word*, 29. Emblem 11 also uses the symbol of food which has to die to give us life, just as Christ through His death brings life to believers. In this case, a kind of Eucharistic reading is encouraged by the *pictura* in which the table bearing food has very much the appearance of an altar.

law ('legum poenis', 'by the punishments of law', line 3); emblem 14 is elaborately structured round twin images of flight and a man's shadow to preach the dangers of pursuing earthly praise ('praemia laudis', 'the rewards of praise'), contrasted with 'gloria', the fruit of humility; and emblem 15 declares that unjustly gained riches no more bring happiness to a miser than water does to a man with dropsy. Given their context, however, it is tempting to take the interpretation a little further: might emblem 13 not contain a reference to the government of Geneva? And emblem 14 inevitably invites the reader to recall biblical passages concerning the contrast between earthly things and eternal glory, as in Colossians 2:17, where precisely as here, the world is seen as a shadow of what will be, and 'gloria' is applied to the eternal life to which we aspire.⁹ Even emblem 15 has an ambiguity in the word 'beatos' (line 1), applied to the misers, meaning potentially both 'happy' and 'blessed', 'saved'; even without this, the pattern of religious significance of the first twelve emblems prompts us to recollect the rejection of earthly riches found in many passages in the Bible, most importantly in the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 6:19).

Be this as it may, the following emblem (16) returns explicitly to a Christian theme, taking the familiar image of the caged bird to express the freedom that Christ brings (cf. John 8: 32):

Liber homo natus, mortis dein clausus in antro,
Rursus abit in Christo liber ad astra duce (lines 3-4).

(Man is born free, then, enclosed within the cave of death, again goes free with Christ as his leader to the stars).

Indeed Bèze seems to adopt a deliberate pattern of alternating explicitly Christian emblems with ones of more general import. So emblems 17 to 19 treat the general theme of the dangers and vicissitudes of life, linked through the use of natural images (wind and ice), but only 18 has any explicit religious reference, to Satan who, like the wind, must be kept out; then emblem 20 strongly reasserts the Christian context, thus retrospectively contextualising the theme of suffering, and, through the image of refining gold, suggesting a number of biblical passages (e.g. Zecharias 13: 9):

⁹ This emblem operates more as Georgette de Montenay's do, although Bèze does not guide us as systematically to this reading as Montenay does. The capitalisation of 'gloria' in subsequent editions facilitates our understanding. Similarly, 'numen' (meaning God) is capitalised in emblems 9, 23, 28 and 'draco' in 36.

Hoc tibi, si sapias, crux est, licet aspera: quisquis
Caelum Deo petis duce (lines 3-4).

(If you are aware of it, that is what your cross is to you, even though it is harsh, you who seek Heaven with God as your guide).

The following three emblems return to the topic of human behaviour. Emblem 21 simply extols virtue; emblems 22 and 23 focus specifically on those who are against Christ or God: those who, like a dog barking at the moon, rail at Christ or His ministers ('Christum allatrat Christive ministros': 22, line 3), or those who seek to stop up the mouth of God ('numinis ora': 23, line 4), symbolised, interestingly as Satan had been, by the blowing of the wind, as at Pentecost.

Emblem 24 and 25 are central, both in terms of their approximate position within the *Emblemata* and of their theme: here Bèze speaks out to attack, no longer vaguely, those who rail at Christ, but, in a climax to the argument he develops through emblems 22 and 23, the Roman Catholic church. In emblem 24, we see two Roman priestly figures (Cardinals) on either side of a nobleman, representing the king whom they exploit (fig. 2), and in the background three bursts of wind, blowing up the sea, representing the troubled world. The text contains another metaphor for the Roman Catholic church, 'meretrix Romana' (line 3), the whore, a commonplace image in Protestant iconography (though not reproduced visually here) based on the whore of Babylon from the Apocalypse (chapters 17 and 19). The text stresses that she is the sole cause of the disturbance (*Unica [...] vis*: line 2), and ends on an unusually impassioned plea to the rulers of the world:

Hanc [the whore] tollite, Reges,
Pacatus subito (credite) mundus erit (lines 3-4).

(Kings, expel her, and at once, believe this, the world will be pacified.)

Emblem 25 depicts the Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome, formerly the tomb of the Emperor Hadrian. Bèze concludes that it is apt that the Roman Pontiff, 'qui mortis nunc est mortalibus auctor' (who even now is the cause of death to mortals: line 3), should occupy a building which was previously a tomb.¹⁰

¹⁰ The events depicted on the left-hand tower (?the Vatican) remain mysterious.

After these two polemical texts, attention turns back to more general human responses: emblem 26 returns to the theme of the man who spurns God (as in 22 and 23), but emblem 27, in which we are warned against those oppressed by vain worry ('vanissima [...] cura': lines 3-4) about this life, seems superficially to have no religious content. However the image through which this idea is expressed, children designing a building stuffed with straw, is likely, especially when reinforced by the *pictura* contrasting the children's house with a more solid construction, to remind the reader of the parable of those who build their house not on sand but on rock, signifying those who hear Christ's word (Matthew 7:24-29).

Emblem 28 is another of the explicitly anti-Papal emblems, and again, unusually, the full meaning of the emblem, rather than just the image it exploits, is present in the *pictura*, which shows serpents, wearing bishop's mitres, doctor's caps and tonsures, entwined to form a circle, with a larger one at the top with a papal tiara (fig. 3).¹¹ Above, a threatening hand, bearing a sword, emerges from a cloud. Neither the Roman church nor the Pope is named; but there is no need. Although the serpents are said to be Satanic, the mood of the text is optimistic:

Ast hominum tandem sortem miseratus acerbam
Exerto verbi Christus nunc dissecat ense (lines 7-8).

(But Christ, taking pity on the bitter fate of mankind, now cuts (them) with the brandished sword of the word.)

Once more we observe the emphasis on the Word, here the sword with which Christ severs the knot of snakes (Ephesians 6:17). This emblem must be interpreted in the context of the history of salvation.

The sequence of emblems 29-31, 33, 34 leaves such cosmic aspects on one side and returns to human endeavours in the here and now, with emblem 32 again recalling the overall religious context. Emblems 29 and 30 sound a warning note: time will wait for no-one (29) and we (the readers) do not listen to our own teaching (30). The image of the bell to which we are deaf obviously encourages this teaching to be defined in religious terms, an interpretation reinforced for readers who may see this emblem as a reference to Montenay's emblem 43, 'Multi sunt vocati' (Many are called).¹² Emblem 31 is overtly religious though in a very general way: as a

¹¹ Cerastes, the horned serpent or viper, recalls Genesis 49:17; Apocalypse 13:11. For the serpent as Antichrist see Ps. Jcromic, in Migne, *PL* 23, c. 1375B.

¹² The motto in Montenay guides us to Matthew 20:16, 22:14 and to recall the argument developed there. In Bèze 30, on the other hand, the reference to the bronze or brass bell

full barrel cannot be filled, so man must empty himself of his human senses if he wishes to achieve a better, i.e. eternal, life:¹³

Aut vacuum humanis, homo, mentem sensibus adfer:
Stultitiae plenus vel remaneto tuae (line 6).

(Either, o man, bring a mind/soul empty of human senses, or remain full of your stupidity).

In emblem 32, Bèze takes the image of young vipers born by eating their way out of their mother and, instead of finding a parallel, contrasts it with the Church which, although it may be attacked by those whom it previously nourished ('quos ipsa suo fovit alumna sinu': line 2), does not die:

Roditur heu! nimium sanctorum Ecclesia multis,
At non eventu nec ratione pari (XXXII, 3-4).

(So the church of the saints, alas! is largely consumed (lit. gnawed) by many but not with the same outcome or procedure).

This perception of vipers, turning against their mother, informs Christ's castigation of the Pharisees as a 'generation of vipers' (Matthew 3: 7; 23: 33), and the image is extended to other enemies of the church, representatives of the Roman church, who are to be destroyed while the 'true' (Reformed) church is renewed and flourishes.¹⁴

Bèze returns to the theme of the danger of earthly riches in emblem 33, using this time the familiar image of the rose, always accompanied by thorns. As for emblem 15, the religious dimension is not explicit but will almost inevitably be implied. In emblem 34, depicting a pig eating dung and a donkey eating thistles, the sense depends on the interpretation given to the word 'Magistris':

('Aera [...] campana') perhaps suggests the context of I Corinthians 13, 1: 'aes sonans', and this is consistent with our understanding of the emblem but not required for it.

¹³ Subsequent editions which include this emblem change 'micro' to 'vero': 'Quod mero est plenum velle replere furor' (referring to the 'vas').

¹⁴ This text first appeared in Albrecht van Loo's album amicorum, *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze* XX (1579) (Geneva, 1998) 295-296. The ruined ancient monument in the background suggests the *vanitas* of Rome, although the arches may also be in imitation of La Perrière, *Morosophie*, no. 65. For a full treatment of the history of this image, see J.D. Pfeifer, 'Error and Echidna in *The Faerie Queen*. A Study in Literary Tradition', in: John Scattergood (ed.), *Literature and Learning in Medieval and Renaissance England* (Blackrock, 1984) 127-174.

Stercora quod porcis, asinis quod carduus, hoc est
Barbaries nostris asinis porcisque Magistris.

(As dung to pigs, as a thistle to donkeys, such is savageness to
Magistri, our donkeys and pigs).

'Magistri' are Scholastics, theologians within the Roman Catholic tradition.¹⁵ The emblem is clearly a criticism of the vain theology of the Roman church.

Emblem 35 is the first in a series of emblems reasserting the cosmic dimension and formulating strong explicitly Christian and Calvinist arguments (interrupted only by emblem 38); these lead into the three emblems (40-42) constituting the framing device (see above). Emblem 35 takes up the topic of the refining power of suffering (cf. 20), but set much more explicitly in the context of the cosmic struggle between Christ (the hand of God appearing from the heavens) and Satan pictured poking the fire below a cauldron, representing the faithful. Conflict with Satan is also the theme of the following emblem (36); and it would not be going too far to suggest that emblem 37 illustrates what is meant by Satan (fig. 4). As for emblem 35, the *pictura* conveys the whole message: the Roman bishop is barely distinguishable from the statue placed on an altar beside him: since the statue is positioned on the altar where the Host would be, Bèze is here emphasising how idolatry has replaced true focus on Christ.¹⁶

Emblem 38 on the other hand is a remarkable interruption in what otherwise seems to be a planned sequence, comparable to the earlier sequence 5 to 12. The classical Danaïdes, who pour water into a barrel full of holes, are compared with a drunkard so befuddled that he drinks the water he passes. Then with emblem 39 follows the pivotal emblem portraying 'Religio, summi vera Patris soboles' (Religion, true offspring of the Father on high: line 2), characterised by her poverty and purity (an implicit contrast with Rome), and her reliance on the Law (that is the Word of God).¹⁷ The bridle to control the passions ('mentis cohibere furores': line

¹⁵ Goulart translates as 'Mataeologiens', cf. Rabelais, *Gargantua*, chapter 14. The use of the *Mataeologi* goes back to Erasmus (see P.S. Allen (ed), *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* (Oxford, 1906-1958), 3, no. 939; *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze XIII* (1572) (Geneva, 1988) 243. Cf. also Alciato, 'In avaros' and 'Non tibi, sed religioni'.

¹⁶ See Randall Coats, *(Em)bodying the Word*, 110.

¹⁷ This emblem has a long history, see Alison Saunders, *The Sixteenth-Century French Emblem Book. A Decorative and Useful Genre* (Geneva, 1988) 244. A version of the text appeared as an epigram called 'Descriptio virtutis' in Bèze's 1548 *Poemata*:

Quaenam sic lacero vestita incedis amictu?

Virtus antiquis nobilitata sophis.

9) perhaps provides the key to our understanding of the preceding emblem 38, as an example of the kind of *furor* which needs to be controlled. But in any case emblem 39 constitutes a summary and culmination of all that has gone before, in the explicitness and the less explicitly Christian emblems: it extols poverty and humility, rejecting wealth, promulgates the importance of suffering represented by the Cross, and man's aspiration for eternal life, and sees faith as providing the prompt for control in everyday life.

But what of the concluding two emblems which I have called the coda, following those (40-42) which seem to form a kind of framework? Their purpose is to warn against any false sense of optimism, and indeed their presence provides a harsh conclusion to the collection: whereas previously one might have deduced that Bèze felt that the forces of evil were at least on the way to being defeated, ultimately this is revealed as being true only *sub specie aeternitatis*; in the here and now, the picture is quite different. The world is likened to a sinking ship (43), and the individual is warned that he cannot escape the anger of God (44).¹⁸

The Poetics of Bèze's Emblems

Since Bèze's emblems, each occupying a new page, have no motto or title, the first element which the reader will confront is the *pictura*, the woodcuts executed by Pierre Cruche (also called Pierre Eskrich, or Vase).¹⁹ Although the genre is sometimes viewed as being characterised by the complex interplay between the various component elements of the emblem, in the case of Bèze the pattern is usually simple. In a majority of cases, the *pictura* depicts the image or motif used to express the moral point; thus we find in

Cur vestis tam vilis? Opes contemno caducas.
Cur gemina est facies? Tempus utrumque noto.
Quid docet hoc frenum? Mentis cohibere furores
Rastros cur gestas? Res mihi grata labor.
Cur volucris? Docco tandem super astra volare.
Cur tibi mors premitur? Nescio sola mori.

The version we find as an emblem in 1580 had already appeared in the *Poematum editio secunda* [...] (Geneva: H. Estienne, 1569) 173. Even the woodcut was familiar by 1580, having appeared first in Bèze's *Confession de la foy chrestienne* (n.p., 1561), as a frontispiece or printer's mark. See Gardy, *Bibliographie des oeuvres théologiques*, 65.

¹⁸ This emblem may well refer to an historical event, but I have been unable to identify it.

¹⁹ Cruche worked in Lyons at this point, but continued to supply woodcuts for Geneva printers (Dufour, *Théodore de Bèze*, p. III). Subsequent editions add quasi-titles, but in fact descriptions of the woodcut. Although they also appear in the illustrated Geneva editions of 1597/8 and 1599, I conclude they were prepared for unillustrated editions. The title of the Hanau 1598 mentions 'praefixa cuique suae figurae descriptione'.

the *picturae* a wide range of elements: diagrams, animals, buildings, human figures, whose significance is explained in the epigram.²⁰ Significantly, this pattern is most likely to be modified in what one might define as key emblems in the collection: so emblem 4, in which, using the image of the golden fleece, the key role played by the person of Christ is stressed, is unusual in that the *pictura* relates to the moral purpose rather than to the image. The Lamb of the *pictura*, with its shields bearing crosses, is more a representation of the Lamb of God (though not an altogether traditional one), than of the golden fleece with which it is compared.²¹

Certain of the powerful central emblems, which express the anti-papal polemic, have *picturae* which are particularly memorable: for emblem 24, which lays on Rome responsibility for the violence of the world, the *pictura* depicts not only the metaphor (the troubled sea, grown rough through the wind directed at it from three sources) but also the moral element, that is the dangerous interaction between representatives of Rome and worldly leaders (the three figures, two cardinals and a worldly leader, in the foreground) which we must shun.²² Emblem 28, using mitred and capped serpents as images of the Roman church, also conveys its moral within the *pictura*, since a divine hand, bearing a sword, is depicted as threatening the serpents, much as in emblem 35 Satan himself is seen opposed by a divine hand in the skies. The pivotal emblem 39 ('*Relligio*') has as its *pictura* an allegorical figure which certainly still requires elucidation from the text, but nevertheless contains within it much of the moral element.

There are a small number of emblems which, as we have seen, actually rely on the *pictura* to add an extra element to our understanding: emblem 32 takes up the image of the serpent and recalls visually emblem 28; emblem 27 is particularly complex (and uncharacteristic of Bèze), in that the *pictura*, juxtaposing an insubstantial construction with a more solid one, not only suggests the biblical theme of the house built on sand or rock, but also gains a further layer of meaning through its similarity with one of Georgette de Montenay's emblems. And finally, in emblem 37, the position of the statue of the bishop on the altar underlines the idolatrous use to which statues are put. But these emblems, memorable as they are, are the exception. For the most part, the moral is obscure until the epigram is read,

²⁰ It is for this reason that Randall Coats comments 'the link between picture and *pointe* is invariably extremely tenuous' (*(Em)bodying the Word*, 109).

²¹ Saunders, *The Sixteenth-Century French Emblem Book*, 245.

²² The puzzling emblem based on the Danaïdes (emblem 38) also contains within the *pictura* two stages in the argument: the Danaïdes and the drunken man. But the latter, seen as a barrel with his penis extruding as the spigot, is itself a further image.

and the memorable and indeed admirable quality of the emblem resides in the building up of the argument linking the two.

All the epigrams are relatively brief, ranging from two or four lines (the most common length) to eleven. Most are in elegiac couplets, but a significant number use the much more unusual verse form known as First Pythiambic (9 out of 44),²³ that is a hexameter followed by an iambic dimeter, and three are composed entirely of hexameters. Bèze's skill in handling elegiacs had already manifested itself in his early verse.²⁴ Pierre Laurens, commenting on the epigrams in the 1548 edition, writes: 'Bèze s'y révèle comme un des maîtres du distiche élégiaque [...]'. With reference to the verse of the later *Emblemata* he concludes that 'l'exécution a gagné en simplicité et en clarté'.²⁵ While the choice between elegiacs and First Pythiambics seems arbitrary, the epigrams written in hexameters (28, 35 and 44) are in some way distinctive. Not only are they longer than the average, but emblems 35 and 44 at least pay more attention to narrative and could be said to have almost an epic quality, 'un mouvement et un souffle épiques'.²⁶

For the most part, whatever metre is adopted, the structure of the epigrams is transparent and even repetitive: in more than 75% of cases, a 50:50 division between the metaphor (usually what we see in the *pictura*) and its interpretation, mostly corresponding to couplets, and often articulated by words such as 'qualis', 'velut' and 'ut' in the first part, and 'talis' or 'sic' in the second.²⁷ This transparent pattern plays a large part in the impression of simplicity and clarity which Bèze's verse conveys. Within this framework, vocabulary or structures from the first part are often echoed in the second. A clear example is emblem 10:

Qualis eques rapido nemorosa per avia cursu
Corruit, effreni praecipitatus equo,
Corpore tu quemcunque Deus vel mente beavit,
Talis es, ipsius te nisi frena regant.

²³ Emblems 5, 11, 13, 15, 20, 40, 41, 42, and 43. Bèze had already employed this metre to advantage in a number of poems in his well-received *Poemata* of 1548: Epitaphium XXI and Epigrammata XLIV, XLVIII, LXXXIX. I am grateful to Roger Green for advice concerning the question of metre.

²⁴ See for instance his *Poemata* (Paris: C. Badius, 1548).

²⁵ Pierre Laurens (ed.), *Musae Reduces*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1975) II, 327-328.

²⁶ Laurens, *Musae Reduces*, 328, commenting on a passage from 'Last Judgement' (not published till 1954), which makes him regret that Bèze never undertook a truly Protestant epic.

²⁷ Emblem 15 is unusual in placing the meaning before the metaphor.

(As the horseman in his rapid course through woody byways falls, tumbled from his unbridled horse, you whom God has blessed in body and soul ['mente'], you are in the same situation, if His reins do not guide you).

As well as the obvious articulation through the 'qualis'/'talis' construction, the two parts are linked through the use of 'effreni' ('unbridled') and 'frena' ('reins'), the one used literally and the other figuratively. Moreover, the two couplets are further associated with each other through the alliteration in 'cursu', 'corruit' and 'corpore' (both at the beginning of the line), and 'quemcunque'. The second couplet (as frequently) contrasts with the first by being in the second person, addressed directly to the reader, whereas the first was expressed as a statement in the third person. The first couplet describes the woodcut and indeed virtually makes the *pictura* superfluous,²⁸ although in some emblems expressions such as 'cernis' draw attention to the woodcut.

Longer emblems, those going beyond four lines, not surprisingly, often have a more complex structure. Thus the division between the two parts is not exact for a number of six-line epigrams: for several a 2: 4 division is used (7, 31, 38); for emblem 32, the complex emblem about the serpents which destroy their mother, the division is 1: 5; and the six-line epigram of emblem 14 has a more elaborate structure than usual, in that there are three stages in the argument presented. The first couplet presents the image, the shadow and its characteristics; the second gives the interpretation, that praise behaves like a shadow, fleeing those who pursue it; but then there is a further stage in which Bèze argues that such earthly praise is worthless anyway. Emblem 39 (10 lines), depicting the allegorical figure of Relligio, is constructed around questions and answers, and thus the treatment of the image and its interpretation are not separated from each other. The brief two-line epigram for emblem 37, equating bishops with statues, has no separation of image and interpretation.

It is of course to be expected that the three emblems in hexameters should have structures in which the couplet is no longer the building block: the eight-line epigram of emblem 28, concerning the circle of entwined and mitred serpents has a division with the sense break in the middle of the line (3 1/2: 4 1/2); emblem 35 describing the cauldron in which Satan seeks to destroy the faithful but in fact only refines them, with the longest text of the whole collection (11 hexameters), has only 3 lines devoted to the image, whereas the closing emblem 44, with its nine-line epigram, is, given the

²⁸ Cf. Saunders, *The Sixteenth-Century French Emblem Book*, 85.

importance attached to a quasi-historical narrative, the only one to have fewer lines for the interpretation (3) than for the image.

The Emblematic Game: Intertextuality

The simplicity and clarity which characterise Bèze's emblems mean that for the most part they stand on their own. They depend much less on any kind of game of allusion and recognition than those of, say, Bèze's immediate predecessor, Georgette de Montenay, or another, slightly later, Protestant emblem writer, Jean-Jacques Boissard. Bèze was a prominent humanist scholar: yet our awareness of his humanist background is limited in terms of content, although it is obviously inherent in his skilful manipulation of verse. Only three emblems make explicit, though hardly specific, classical references: emblem 4 (the golden fleece), emblem 6 (the phoenix) and emblem 38 (the Danaïdes). Both the golden fleece and the phoenix are commonplaces within the emblematic tradition, and Bèze does not find it necessary to add any explanation, whereas in emblem 38 he gives a brief synopsis of the story:

Belidas fingunt pertusa in dolia vates
Mox effundendas fundere semper aquas (lines 1-2).

(The poets depict the Danaïdes always pouring water which will soon pour out into barrels with holes).

In these three cases, however, Bèze seems to be drawing not directly on classical sources but on the usual stock of the emblematic tradition in France, as are a large number of his emblems: emblem 4 is linked to a well-known Alciato emblem, 'Dives indoctus' (The ignorant rich man), although the way in which Bèze uses the motif of the golden fleece to convey a Christian message is his own. Emblem 38, concerning the Danaïdes, could well find its roots in Corrozet's *Hecatomgraphie* (1540), emblem 96,²⁹ but again the moral drawn from the story is completely different: for Corrozet, the image expresses the danger of wastage, with the motto 'Garder les biens de la maison', whereas for Bèze it is an image of excessive drinking. For emblem 6 on the other hand, Bèze shares with Aneau (*Picta Poesis*, 1552) the religious interpretation which he gives to the image of the phoenix: the

²⁹ The Ancients already used this concept proverbially: see A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig, 1890; reprint Hildesheim, 1988) 98, s. 'cribrum' 3.

motto of Aneau's emblem (p. 93) is 'Unius Dei Aeternitas' (Eternity of the one God).

While it would be pointless to continue an analysis of the possible sources of Bèze's emblems — and it is rarely possible to establish more than a parallel, which may or may not be the source³⁰ — these three emblems provide some pointers. He was undoubtedly familiar with a number of the emblematic texts produced in France: Alciato (whether in Latin or French), La Perrière, Corrozet, Aneau, Coustau, and especially Georgette de Montenay. But he tends to draw on established and often commonplace motifs and use them for his own (usually Christian) purposes.³¹ The original use to which he puts commonplace motifs confirms the multivalence of such images. A more unexpected parallel is found in Bocchi's *Symbolicarum Quaestionum libri quinque* (Bologna: Nova Academia Bocchiana, 1555): both Bèze's emblems 14 and 36 seem to have been influenced by Bocchi's IV, 99: the motif for emblem 14, that is the crocodile, is likely to be drawn from Bocchi. The motto though, 'Non appeti debere gloriam, at sequi veram' (One should not strive after glory, but pursue true [glory]), can be associated with emblem 36, which uses a different motif, that of a man's shadow to express fundamentally the same idea, that is the contrast between vain glory and true glory. In Bocchi, 'gloria' is used to express both ideas, whereas Bèze substitutes 'laus' for worldly glory in his text.³² One emblem (12) finds a close parallel in Erasmus' *Adagia* I. viii. 65, 'Nunc pluit, et claro nunc Iuppiter aethere fulget' (One moment it is raining, the next Jupiter is shining from a clear sky). For Erasmus, the sense is primarily the coexistence of good and evil, happiness and unhappiness, but Bèze, following his normal pattern, takes it one stage further to express the idea that Christ can bring eternal life to the believer, but death to those who reject Him.

³⁰ Cummings, introduction.

³¹ As well as exploiting such commonplaces as the sea as a symbol of the vicissitudes of life, common in most emblem works and traceable back to Brandt's *Ship of Fools*, more specific links can be seen to particular works: Alciato: 4 ('Dives indoctus'), 22 ('Inanis impetus'), 34 ('In avaros' and 'Non tibi, sed religioni'); La Perrière, *Theatre des bons engins*: 5 (31 and esp. 67, but see Georgette de Montenay), 16 (38); *Morosophie*: 32 (65), 243 (38); Corrozet, *L'Hecatographie*: 21 ('Beauté compagne de bonté', 82: the woodcut is probably based on the one in the Janot editions of *L'Hecatographie*), 31 ('Suffisance': 62), 33 (19, 30, but see Montenay), 38 (96); Aneau, *Picta poesis*: 6 ('Unius Dei Aeternitas', p. 93), 8 ('Divortium ex impari connubio', p. 33), 14 ('Mulier umbra viri', p. 58: woodcuts similar); Coustau, *Pegma*: 10 (p. 157: here too the woodcuts are quite similar, and even a Christian orientation can be found in Coustau's commentary); Montenay, *Emblemes ou devises chretiennes*: 5 (14), 14 (53, but see Aneau), 20 (80), 23 (96), 27 (1), 30 (43), 31 (42), 33 (66), 35 (80).

³² The chasing and fleeing one's shadow can be compared to the chasing or fleeing of a crocodile. Indeed the woodcuts are similarly designed.

Not surprisingly, the links with Georgette de Montenay are both the most frequent (about nine emblems) and, often, the most interesting, probably suggesting specific influence. Emblem 27 may even invite us to recall Montenay's first emblem in order to understand it fully. We have already pointed out how the *pictura*, contrasting the children playing, building an insubstantial house, with others constructing something much more solid, maybe implies a biblical context (Matthew 7:24-29). I suspect however that the reader might also recall Montenay's opening emblem, with the motto 'Sapiens mulier aedificat domum' (Every wise woman buildeth her house; Proverbs 14:1), the *pictura* of which shows Jeanne d'Albret engaged in building up a house, identified in the text as the 'temple saintet' which can be taken as an image of the Kingdom of God, as in the passage of Matthew already cited, or in 2 Corinthians 5:1-10. Thus, making the link to Montenay's emblem and its resonances adds considerably to the impact of Bèze's emblem 27, introducing the idea of the Holy Temple, the Kingdom of God.

It is characteristic of Montenay's emblems that they contain numerous verbal and visual allusions to biblical passages which provide a sub-text to our reading and understanding and require a contemplative reading practice, suited to their religious content. For the most part, Bèze speaks to the intellect and operates through the striking simplicity of his argument rather than by the suggestive allusion and thus recourse to our own resources, which is what triggers the contemplative mood for Montenay. Nevertheless, an awareness of a biblical context seems implicit in several of Bèze's emblems, implied by the context of explicit references to Christian faith, yet rarely prompted by the visual or verbal allusions (quotations or near quotations which need to be completed etc.) which abound in Georgette de Montenay. We have already examined how this functions in the very first emblem, where the words 'principium' and 'finis' serve as a code, to set the reader off along the right track without any need to recognise an allusion to a precise passage of the Bible. The same could be said of the three emblems dealing with the problems attached to worldly wealth (15, 33 and 39): none of these requires specific identification of any particular passage, such as Matthew 6:19 ('Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt [...]') or Matthew 19:24 ('It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God': cf. also Mark 10:25, Luke 18:25), nor yet the related passages promising heaven to the poor.³³ All that is needed is a recollection that, within a Christian context, earthly wealth is

³³ And in fact the references to poverty in emblem 39 were already present in the earlier version of the text when the poem concerned Virtus rather than Relligio. See note 18.

worse than meaningless. Similarly the emblems using the image of the refining of gold (20 and 35) require merely that we know this image is used to express how suffering can purify man.³⁴ The same argument can be constructed concerning the two emblems using the image of a house (18 and 27) which seem to presuppose awareness of the metaphorical use to which a house is put in the Bible, although emblem 27, as we have said above, is exceptional in requiring the track through Montenay to the Bible to reach a full understanding of the emblem. The same is true of emblem 14, the complexity of which has already been indicated: the contrast between earthly praise and true glory is manifest, but what is meant by this distinction is underlined by the associations of the word 'shadow'. The overall context, although no specific pointer is given, encourages the reader to read the emblem in a Christian context, and in this context a shadow will remind a reader of Colossians 2: 16-17 or Hebrews 10: 1-10 which use the image to express the contrast between the sacrifices of the law (of the Old Testament) and the offering of the body of Christ. While the details do not correspond —sacrifice is not at issue— the shadow is clearly to be rejected as faith in Christ is embraced. Or alternatively, the reader may recall the biblical rejection of earthly glory (Philippians 2:3) and thence the contrast between praise in this world and glory in the next. In a comparable way, the reader of emblem 16, in which the freedom of a bird which breaks out of its prison is an image of man's freedom gained through Christ, might well think of John 8:32 ('the truth shall make you free'), or of St Paul's expression of his freedom as an apostle of Christ (Romans 8:2: 'for the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death'), and thus appreciate the sense of the *antrum mortis* from which the Christian escapes.

Despite these examples of intertextuality, the most memorable of Bèze's emblems, play not on literary, even biblical allusions, but on something much more explicit, the powerful rhetoric of the anti-Catholic polemic: the 'meretrix Romana' (23), the serpent bearing the papal tiara (28), or the figure of Satan himself (18, 28 and especially 35).

Bèze's Influence Within the Emblem Tradition

Bèze's relatively austere emblems have received little attention, and might seem something of a backwater within the overall development of the tradition. It was not until Otto van Veen and Herman Hugo in the first

³⁴ Cf. Proverbs 17:3; Wisdom 3:6; Malachi 3:2-3; Zecharias 13:9.

quarter of the seventeenth century that religious emblems took centre stage.³⁵ Nevertheless, his impact on contemporary writers was immediate: two emblem books of 1581 show undoubted and precise influence.

The Protestant Nicholas von Reusner, in his *Emblemata* (Frankfurt: J. Feyerabendt, 1581) quotes the verse texts of three Bèze emblems, 6, 20 and 36: in all three cases, Reusner takes the images (phoenix, threshed corn and crocodile) to express closely similar religious concepts, and follows his own more elaborate *subscriptio* with Bèze's text, headed unambiguously 'TH. B. VV.'. The woodcuts, however, are independent. For his emblem I, XXXI, 'Fidei cotricula, crux' ('The cross is the touchstone of faith'), associated with Bèze 20 (threshed corn), Reusner places the motif in a wider context exploring the image of God as the tiller of the field, inherent in many of Christ's parables, whereas Bèze had linked the image with others expressing the same idea of refinement, filing iron and smelting gold. Along with his longish *subscriptio*, Reusner also includes a second text, a mere couplet, closely modelled on Bèze's:

Quod grano plostrum, quod ferro lima, quod auro
Fornax; hoc homini crux solet esse pio.

(What the cart is to grain, the file to steel, the furnace to gold, that
the cross is wont to be to the godly man).

This text forms the basis for a new emblem in Reusner's *Aureolorum emblematum liber* (Strasbourg: Bernard Jobin, 1587), whose rather inept *figura* could be influenced by another Bèze emblem (5).³⁶ The link with the phoenix emblem (6) is more straightforward (*Emblemata* II, XXXVI), but Reusner's 'Gloria Crocodilus' (II, III) can be associated with two Bèze emblems: explicitly he quotes Bèze 36, also featuring the crocodile, but his own text recalls also the related theme, drawn from Bocchi (IV, 99), of *gloria*, which Bèze develops in emblem 14.

The other 1581 text which betrays knowledge of Bèze's emblems is the Roman Catholic Juan de Borja's *Empresas morales* (Prague: Jorge Nigrin). My conviction that he was familiar with Bèze relies more on the number of parallels than any precise verbal borrowing: seven emblems in this category can be identified: Borja pp. 17 (Bèze 40/41), 28 (17), 37 (5),

³⁵ For Herman Hugo's *Pia desideria*, see the article by Richard Dimler elsewhere in this volume.

³⁶ For a study of Reusner's *Aureola emblemata*, see the contribution by Elisabeth Klecker and Sonja Schreiner on pages 127-168.

38 (40-42), 53 (38), 69 (20), 76 (3). Taken individually, we might hesitate to postulate influence, but cumulatively the case is much stronger: although for four of these emblems, we merely find a shared motif, used to different purpose (Borja pp. 17, 37, 38, 76), for the remaining three there is some correspondence between the image and its interpretation. Borja, like Bèze and Reusner, uses threshing corn (p. 69) to express the beneficial effect of the tribulations which God sends us, though without developing the religious sense as Bèze and Reusner do. Yet he gives a more explicitly religious significance to the image of a leaking barrel (p. 53) than Bèze does in emblem 38, although both explain the image by recalling the story of the Danaïdes. Bèze specifically criticises drunkards, but Borja in more general terms decries time wasted on things of the world. Borja's emblem on p. 28 is a variant on Bèze 17: both use the image of a ship foundering as it enters the harbour to comment on the pain attached to losing something long desired when it seems to be within one's grasp, although Bèze's ship is sunk, whereas Borja's burns.

There are six emblems in Sebastian de Covarrubias Orozco's *Emblemas morales* (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1610) which show some sign of a link with Bèze. Given the much greater time lapse between the two works, however, great care must be taken. In three cases, Borja could provide an intermediary between Bèze and Covarrubias. He exploits the image of the anvil (III, 78; Bèze 5; Borja p. 37), but, with God now holding the hammer, the commonplace motif has taken on a very different context, with the moral being to suffer patiently. Visually, Covarrubias's depiction of the sun and the moon is much more reminiscent of Borja than Bèze (II, 41; Bèze 40/41; Borja p. 17) and expresses a different moral from either.³⁷ A stronger case could be made for III, 32, 'Fortuna in porto' (Fortune in the port), which is considerably closer to Bèze 17 than Borja, in the sense that here too the boat sinks. Nevertheless, the configuration of the port or shoreline in Covarrubias shows certain similarities with Borja. Covarrubias, like Bèze and Reusner, has a phoenix emblem, but the presence of the sun in the woodcut suggests a link with Camerarius's 'Ut vivat' (That it may live) in *Symbolorum et Emblematum [...] Centuria tertia* (Nuremberg: P. Kaufmann, 1596, C; the woodcut is probably influenced by Borja) rather than Bèze directly. Covarrubias and Bèze also share emblems using the image of a man who falls off his horse, but neither the woodcuts nor the texts have enough in common for any conclusions to be drawn. For Covarrubias' II, 40, there is both a visual and a thematic link to Bèze 14 (see fig. 5a and b): the gesture of the figure fleeing his shadow and

³⁷ Cf. also Juan de Horozco y Covarrubias' *Emblemas* (Segovia: Juan de la Cuesta, 1589) where, in II, 8, there is a similarly diagrammatic depiction of earth and moon to that in Bèze.

extending his arms to the sun is markedly similar, as is the position of the background town on a hill; and both emblems express the idea we can only gain true glory by not pursuing it, although Bèze defines this in religious terms which are lacking in Covarrubias.

If associations with Bèze in the Spanish works may seem surprising, the same cannot be said for his influence on Zinzgref, writing in French for the Palatinate court of Heidelberg.³⁸ The similarities are more marked too: his emblems 41 and 72 seem to derive from Bèze 40 and 42 respectively, showing sun, earth and moon in the same alignments. In Bèze 40 however, the moon, fully illumined by the sun, represents the Church gazing in wonder at God, the sun, whereas for Zinzgref the moon represents the prince, 'Qu'il a de Dieu des biens pour son peuple & province'. In Bèze 42, the moon, though invisible to earth, is in fact fully enlightened by the sun, denoting how man, though dead is in fact in the full light of Christ. But Zinzgref uses this iconography quite differently: the sun now represents the prince to which moon and earth, *i.e.* mankind, must give homage. Given the debt owed Bèze in these two emblems, we would be justified in suggesting a link between Zinzgref 45, showing the hand of God filling a barrel with holes in it, and Bèze 31; the barrel, with its funnel, and the jug pouring into it are closely similar in the two woodcuts, and the human figure holding the jug in Bèze in fact symbolises God; the moral in both is concerned with whether mankind makes use of what God offers.

It might be expected that Bèze's emblems would have exerted an influence on Antoine de La Faye; he was Bèze's pupil, and his book, *Emblemata et Epigrammata*, was produced, like Bèze's, in Geneva (1610). While by no means all La Faye's emblems are Christian in orientation, their basic structure is reminiscent of Bèze: a clearly structured and articulated epigram, starting from the description of an image and then, in the second half, explaining its significance. While Bèze's were originally illustrated but appeared in later editions without the woodcuts, and function satisfactorily in that form, La Faye's were never illustrated.

Bèze then, despite the little importance he himself seems to attach to his emblems, can be regarded as a central emblem author, drawing inspiration from a multiplicity of sources and in his turn feeding into a variety of different later emblem books. If his importance as an emblematiser has not always been recognised, the reason lies as much as anything with the fact that Bèze is, of course, so much else besides. His emblematic *oeuvre* is, in relative terms, far less important than his more overtly and

³⁸ Anthony J. Harper, 'Zinzgref's Emblem-book of 1619: Local and European Significance', in: Anthony J. Harper and Ingrid Höpel, *The German-Language Emblem in its European Context: Exchange and Transmission* [Glasgow Emblem Studies 5] (Glasgow, 2000) 79-95.

single-mindedly religious works, or, historically, than *Abraham sacrificant*, hailed as the first French tragedy. Nevertheless, he merits attention which he has not yet properly received. He is one of the very few mainstream writers to turn their hands to emblems, and his early Neo-Latin verse had been acclaimed before he decided to devote himself to spreading the Reformed faith. What is interesting about the *Emblemata* is the way in which they bridge the gap between the two parts of Bèze's long and prolific life.

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Language Emblem in its European Context: Exchange and Transmission [Glasgow Emblem Studies 5] (Glasgow, 2000) 79-95.

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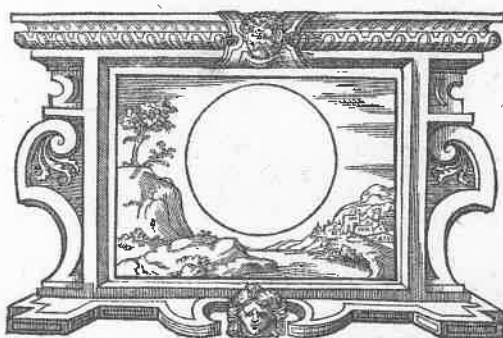
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EMBLEMA I.



*Principium in tereti quaris quicunque figura,
 Principium inuenies hîc ubi finis erit.
 Sic Christum vero quisquîs reuereris amore,
 Quæ uitam hora tibi finiet, incipiet.*

Figure 1: Bèze, *Icones [...]* (Geneva: J. de Laon, 1580) Emblem 1 (Glasgow University Library).



Figure 2: Bèze, *Icones [...]* (Geneva: J. de Laon, 1580) Emblem 24 (Glasgow University Library).



Figure 3: Bèze, *Icones [...]* (Geneva: J. de Laon, 1580) Emblem 28 (Glasgow University Library).



Figure 4: Bèze, *Icones [...]* (Geneva: J. de Laon, 1580) Emblem 37 (Glasgow University Library).



Figure 5a: Bèze, *Icones* [...] (Geneva: J. de Laon, 1580) Emblem 14 (Glasgow University Library).



Figure 5b: Covarrubias Orozco, *Emblemas morales* (Madrid: L. Sanchez, 1610) II, 40 (Glasgow University Library).

Achille Bocchi's *Symbolicae Quaestiones*

ANNE ROLET*

Biographical Details

Achille Bocchi, the author of an intriguing collection of *Symbola* published in Bologna in 1555¹, was born in 1488 as the son of a Bolognese merchant and member of the Senate.² He received the traditional education of a young nobleman from northern Italy (reading, arithmetic, music) before he entered the *Studio* of Bologna where he passed his *laurea* in 1508. In the same year he married Taddea Grassi, who is thought to be the illegitimate daughter of Cardinal Carlo Grassi (dedicatee of symbols 89 and 117³). She was to bear him six children. The Bocchis, although in favour of Bentivoglio's league who fought against the annexation of the town to the pope's estate between 1474 and 1506, maintained a certain neutrality in their political attitude and only suffered slightly from reprisals. This political situation is crucial to understand why many *symbola* are dedicated to members of the Curia. Furthermore, all popes from 1523 to 1555, except Hadrien VI, appear as

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¹ *Achillis Bochii Bononiensis symbolicarum quaestionum de universo genere quas serio ludebat libri quinque* (Bologna: in aedibus novae academiae Bocchianae, 1555). See E. See Watson, *Achille Bocchi and the emblem book as symbolic form* (Cambridge, 1993) and our thesis *Les Symbolicae quaestiones d'Achille Bocchi (1555): recherche sur les modèles littéraires, philosophiques et spirituels d'un recueil d'emblèmes à l'époque de la Réforme (édition, traduction et étude d'ensemble)* (Tours: Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de la Renaissance, 1998) especially the critical edition and translation of the text in vol. I.

² Giulio Bocchi's death in 1537 is evoked in symbol 139 (=137), v. 3 and 30, and allows the dating of its writing. Bocchi also dedicates an ode to his father, *Ad Iulium Bochium genitorem ode*, from the *Lusuum Libellus*, Florence, Laurentian Library, *Plut.* 33, *codex* 42, fols. 4 r.-v. Giulio Bocchi's status of merchant helps in understanding the dedication of *Symbola* 72 and 95 to two *mercatores*: Baltassare and Giano Rusticelli who will be Bocchi's executors. See G. Raveira-Aira, 'Achille Bocchi et la sua *Historia Bononiensis*', *Studi e memorie per la storia dell'Università di Bologna*, XV (Bologna, 1942) 111.

³ Actually 87 and 115 in the 1555 edition, whose numeration is erroneous from symbol 64 on (bearing number 62). We have corrected the mistaken numeration and the numbers read in the 1555 edition are quoted between brackets.

dedicatees.⁴ Clement VII (1523-1534) received *symbolon* 111 (=109); Paul III (1534-1549) *symbola* 4, 63, 112 (=110) and 141 (=139); Julius III (1550-1555) *symbolon* 85⁵, 148 and the first prefatory dedication; Marcello II (1555) *symbolon* 60⁶; Paul IV (1555-1559), the second prefatory dedication. Bocchi also abundantly courts Paul III's family.⁷ The evocations of Emperor Charles V (*symbola* 21-22) and of Francis I (*symbolon* 24) may be related to the decisive episodes in the papal diplomatic policy which took place in Bologna.⁸

Bocchi's teacher at the *Studio* of Bologna was Giovanni Battista Pio (himself a pupil of Filippo Beroaldo the elder), the dedicatee of *symbolon* 129 (=127). Bocchi defends Pio's *Commentaria in Plautum* against Giovan Francesco Boccardo da Brescia's attacks (known as 'Pilade'⁹) in the *Apologia in Plautum*.¹⁰ In 1509, he published an anthology of *Carmina in laudem Ioanni Battistae Pii*.

In 1508, Bocchi became lecturer 'ad litteras graecas' at the *Studio*. From then on his name featured on the teachers' lists until his death in 1562. He was appointed successively to the chairs 'ad rhetoricam et poesim' and 'ad litteras humanitatis, ad rhetoricam et poesim'.¹¹ Among all the lectures given by Bocchi at the *Studio*, and also at the *Accademia Bocchiana*, we only have

⁴ Probably because of his short reign (1522-1523) and, above all, because of his reserved attitude as a patron of the arts. On the other hand we can find a memory of a first dedication to Leo X (1513-1521) in symbol 78 (=76) attributed to Roberto Maggi. This was confirmed by the manuscript *Sloane* 3158 of the British Library, fol. 80v.

⁵ This symbol was originally conceived for Paul III (who died in November 1549), Julius's predecessor, as can be understood from the coat of arms on the engraving which despite the hatching still shows the Farnese lilies surmounted by the papal keys and tiara.

⁶ At that time he was Cardinal.

⁷ Paul III's grandsons received *symbola*. Alessandro, the protector of the *Accademia Bocchiana*, is the dedicatee of symbol 3, 63, 103, 109 (=107), 110 (=108), 125 (=123). Ranuccio, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, is the author of symbol 33 and Ottavio, dedicatee of symbol 42. Innocenzo del Monte promoted to the rank of Cardinal by his cousin Pope Paul III, received symbol 149. The Medici family was not left aside: Cosimo, Duke of Florence, and Giovanni Angelo respectively received symbols 11 and 107 (=105).

⁸ In 1516, Francis I met Leo X for the signature of the 'Concordat de Bologne' and Charles V was crowned by Clement VII in Bologna in 1530.

⁹ See A. Maranini, 'Bologna tra Bocchi, Pilade e Plauto: vitalità e modernità di polemiche letterarie', in: Walter Tega (ed.), *L'Età di Bocchi: Accademia delle Scienze, Bologna, 7-9 May 1998* (to be published).

¹⁰ To which he added a Latin translation of Plutarch's *Life of Cicero*. Achille Bocchi, *Apologia in Plautum. Vita Ciceronis, auctore Plutarcho nuper inventa ac diu desiderata* (Bologna: *Apud Ioannem Antonium Platonidem*, 1508).

¹¹ See L. Chines, *I lettori di retorica e humanae litterae allo Studio di Bologna nei secoli XV-XVI* (Bologna, 1990) 17, no. 42.

his *Democritus, id est vanitas*, the first lecture in a series of lectures on Cicero's *De oratore* and Horace's *Ars poetica*¹², the first lecture on Cicero's *De legibus*¹³, a commentary on Cicero's *Pro lege Manilia*¹⁴ and the *Argumenta in orationes invectivas Ciceronis*.¹⁵ Bocchi belonged to the milieu of the *Studio* famous for its teaching in law, medicine, Aristotle's philosophy and the *studia humanitatis*. This appears in the *Symbolicae quaestiones* from dedications to famous teachers of the University such as the lawyers Carlo Ruini¹⁶ (*symbolon* 146 [=144]) and Andrea Alciato¹⁷ (*symbolon* 40), the lecturer in logic Andrea Bernardi della Mirandola¹⁸ (*symbolon* 42), the lecturers in the *studia humanitatis* Romolo Amaseo¹⁹ (symbols 132, 133 and 136 [=130, 131 and 134]) and Sebastiano Corrado (*symbolon* 122 [=120])²⁰, and the lecturer in rhetoric Giovan'Battista Camozzi²¹ (symbols 134 and 137 [= 132 and 135]). It also accounts for the dedications to well-known students of the *Studio*: Cardinals such as Lodovico Beccadelli (symbol 77 [=75]), Reginald Pole (symbol 79 [= 77]), Guido Ascanio Sforza (symbol 104), Alessandro and Ottavio Farnese.

As First Counsellor of the Count of Carpi, Alberto Pio, Bocchi visited Rome around 1513, where he obtained the title of Imperial Orator²², but quickly returned to Bologna. In 1520 he received the title of *comes palatinus*, which included the right to armorial bearings.²³ In fact *symbolon* 5 offers a

¹² *Sermo cui titulus est Democritus, id est vanitas: sermo habitus in praelectione librorum M. T. Ciceronis De Oratore et Artis Poeticae Q. Horatii*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 2030, XXX, 103, fol. 539r-569r.

¹³ *Praelectiones in libros de Legibus M. T. Ciceronis habitae Bononiae in Academia Bocchiana* (1556), Bologna, University Library, Cod. Lat. 304.

¹⁴ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 2163, XXXI, 48.

¹⁵ *Argumenta in orationes invectivas Ciceronis*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat., 2029, XXX, 102, fol. 558r-610v.

¹⁶ Lecturer in Civil Law from 1511 to 1512 then from 1515 to 1525.

¹⁷ Professor in Civil Law from 1538 to 1541.

¹⁸ Lecturer in logic from 1538 on. In 1549, he obtained the chair of rhetoric.

¹⁹ He occupied the chair of rhetoric and poetry from 1513 to 1520, and from 1524 to 1538. From 1538 until 1545, he occupied the chair of *studia humanitatis*.

²⁰ He occupied the chair of *studia humanitatis* from 1546 to 1556.

²¹ Lecturer of rhetoric from 1549 to 1550.

²² See Watson, *Achille Bocchi*, 20 and A. Rotondò, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 11 (Rome, 1969) s.v. 'Bocchi, Achille', 67.

²³ He seems to have obtained the title of 'eques auratus' as early as 1512. Bocchi's biographers wonder about the nature of the services he might have rendered to get those distinctions. A. Rotondò, *D. B. I.*, 67 places the acquisition of both titles in 1520 and sees them as the result of political and diplomatic activities in Rome. We recall that if the title of *eques auratus* was generally granted by Charles V, it could be granted by the Pope as well as the title of *Comes*

symbolic exegesis of the Bocchian coat of arms. In 1522 and in 1530, he was a member of the *Anziani*, i.e. the Senators' College of Bologna, which seems to be reflected in symbol 115.

Between 1515 and 1521, Bocchi composed a *Lusuum libellus* for Pope Leo X²⁴ and between 1517 and 1523 two *Lusuum libri*²⁵ dedicated to the Cardinal papal legate Giulio de' Medici, the future Pope Clement VII. Bocchi later took certain poems from this work without modifying them and included them in the emblems, adding an engraving, a dedicatee and *tituli*.²⁶

In 1517, Bocchi presented to the Senate the first book of his *Historia Bononiensis*, which goes from the origins to 1263: it remained unfinished and stops at book XVII. Each book is dedicated to a famous man, for example Pope Leo X (Book I), Alessandro Cibo (Book IV), Francesco Guicciardini (Books IX-X), Guido Ascanio Sforza (Book XIII) or Giovanni Morone (Book XVI).²⁷ In 1551, Bocchi obtained permission from the Senate to have the work finished by his son Pirro, in case Bocchi died before finishing it.²⁸

Sacri Palatii et Aulae Lateranensis. These honorific titles depended on the Prince's will only and did not necessarily imply particular exploits: thus during the coronation of Charles V by Clement VII in Bologna, 1530, they granted both titles to all the lecturers at the *Studio*. Similarly, in 1536 Paul III issued a bulla granting both titles to everyone in the College of Doctors in Civil Law at the University of Bologna (See G. Zaccagnini, *Storia dello Studio di Bologna durante il Rinascimento*, Geneva, 1930). Considering his literary qualities only, Bocchi might have got these titles from Leo X to whom he dedicated his *Lusuum libellus*.

²⁴ Florence, Laurentian Library, *Plut.* 33, *codex* 42. Some of the poems are published in the *Deliciae CC. Italorum poetarum*, by R. Gheri (Frankfurt on the Main, 1604) I, 443-453 and in the *Carmina Illustrum poetarum Italorum* (Florence, 1719) I, 333-360.

²⁵ Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Vat. Lat.* 5793. The first two poems, one ode to the Virgin and one to Leo X, are published in both books.

²⁶ The *Libellus* offers several sources for the *Symbolicae quaestiones*. Thus the ode to Pio, fol. 4r-5v is taken up again with the same dedicatee in symbol 124 (=122); the poems to Albia fol. 25r-v make the texts of symbol 6 and 7 (both poems are also presented with a dedication to Lydia in the *Lusuum libri duo*, fol. 10v-11r), which form a sequence as in the manuscripts; the poem *Ex hebraico poeta*, fol. 33r-v is taken up again in symbol 11; the *Descriptio bombardae*, fol. 43v is the beginning of symbol 94 (=92).

²⁷ See G. Raveira-Aira, 'Achille Bocchi e la sua *Historia Bononiensis*', 65-72.

²⁸ Accused of murder in 1556, Pirro took refuge in Poland; see the edition and translation of Bocchi's letter to Tamás Nadasdy in A. Rolet, 'De l'usage détourné d'une suite hiéroglyphique empruntée à l'*Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* de F. Colonna: philosophie et conversion religieuse dans le symbol no. 147 des *Quaestiones symbolicae* d'Achille Bocchi (1555)', *La Licorne*, 47 (1998) 221-256. After Bocchi's death, Pirro wanted to take up the task, but was turned down by the Senate, since he refused to live in Bologna.

The Academia Bocchiana

The building of the Palazzo Bocchi, the future shelter of the *Academia Bocchiana*, presently Via Goito, started in 1546.²⁹ The architect was Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola and the interior decorator Prospero Fontana.³⁰ The building of the palace, however, caused serious financial difficulties, as can be understood from symbols 109 (=107) and 110 (=108) and from several of Bocchi's letters.³¹ Sambiguuccio's testimony asserts that the palace was still unfinished in 1556.³²

Being a member of several academies³³, Bocchi decided to surround himself with a literary circle, under the guidance of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and Pope Paul III. Like other academies, the *Academia Bocchiana* received an *impresa*, shown in the engraving of symbolon 102. Many of the dedicatees of the emblems are in fact members of the Academy³⁴ and Bocchi

²⁹ See A. Rotondó, *D. B. I.*, 69, G. Raveira-Aira, 'Achille Bocchi e la sua *Historia Bononiensis*', 67-69 and M. Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, vol. I (Bologna, 1926) 452.

³⁰ For 'Palazzo Bocchi', see J. K. Schmidt, 'Zu Vignolas Palazzo Bocchi in Bologna', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts Florenz*, 13 (1967) 83-94; D. Monari, 'Palazzo Bocchi e l'opera rustica secondo il Vignola', in: M. Fagiolo (ed.), *Natura e artificio: l'ordine rustico, le fontane, gli automi nella cultura del Manierismo europeo* (Rome, 1979) 113-112; A. M. Orazi, *Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, 1528-1550. Apprendistato di un architetto bolognese* (Rome, 1982) 229-270; N. Müller, *Renaissance Bologna: a Study in Architectural Form and Content* (New York-Bern, 1989) 135-140; M. Tafuri, *Venezia e il Rinascimento: Religione, scienza, architettura* (Turin, 1985) 97-101; M. Kieffer, *Emblematische Strukturen in Stein: Vignolas Palazzo Bocchi in Bologna* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1999).

³¹ See Watson, *Achille Bocchi*, 65.

³² G. Sambiguuccio, *In Hermathenam Bocchiam interpretatio* (Bologna, 1556) 13 (we translate): 'Even if Bocchi has put forth all his efforts without stopping for this academy for ten years now, from the events and lower income, he has not been able yet to finish this so magnificent and splendid palace'.

³³ He was a member of the Bolognese *Accademia del Viridario*, founded by his friend Giovanni Filoteo Achillini in the *Palazzina della Viola* in 1511, and also of the Roman *Accademia della Virtù*, founded by Claudio Tolomei (probably in 1539), which was devoted to studying Vitruvius from about 1541 onward. E. Watson (*Achille Bocchi*, 56-58) suggests that Bocchi there probably met Claudio Tolomei (symbol 94 [=92]), Alessandro Manzuoli (symbol 127 [=125]), Bernardino Maffei (symbols 87, 96 [=85, 94]), and Marcello Cervino (symbol 60).

³⁴ Romolo Amaseo (symbols 132, 133 [=130, 131]), Antonio Bernardi (symbol 62), Giovanni Campeggi (symbol 123 [=121]), Sebastiano Corrado (symbol 122 [=120]), Tiresio Foscarari (who wrote symbol 2), Alberigo Longo (who wrote symbol 145 [=143]), Alessandro Manzuoli (symbol 127 [=125]), Giano Vitale (symbol 144 [=142]), Giovan Battista Camozzi (symbols 134 and 137 [=132, 135]), Stefano Sauli (symbol 102) Girolamo Sauli (symbol 126 [=124]).

explicitly uses the word *Academia* in several of his symbols.³⁵ Even if the *Academia Bocchiana*³⁶ had existed well before 1555, the only work which can be proven to have been printed by it is Bocchi's book of emblems which bears on its front page the mark 'Ex aedibus novae Academiae Bocchianae'.³⁷ Symbol 145 (=143) relates the triumph given by the Academy to Bocchi, after he completed the *Symbolicae quaestiones* which resembled the University's *laurea* ceremonies.

Bocchi's deep-rooted bond with Bologna resulted in a large number of emblems dedicated to Bolognese citizens, either the laity or prelates.³⁸ Moreover, Bocchi was in contact with important humanists outside Bologna. There are dedications to Giulio Camillo (*symbolon* 88 [=86]), Paolo Giovio (*symbolon* 86 [=84]), Giovan'Battista Egnazio (*symbolon* 99 [=97]), Benedetto Accolti (*symbolon* 93 [=91]), Marc'Antonio Flaminio (*symbolon* 124 [=122]), Francesco Campana (*symbolon* 139 [=137]), Mario Nizolio (*symbolon* 81 [=79]) and Giovan'Battista Pigna (*symbolon* 150).

Bocchi and Bonasone: Modalities of Collaboration

Bocchi asked the painter-engraver Giulio Bonasone to illustrate his emblems.³⁹ Bonasone, a pupil of Marcantonio Raimondi, was inspired by

³⁵ Symbol 122, v. 15: *auspiciis Academiae secundis*; symbol 126, v. 1: *Academia*; v. 11: *Academia nostra*.

³⁶ See Watson, *Achille Bocchi*, 57-59.

³⁷ Watson (*Achille Bocchi*, 57) also mentions a funeral oration by Paulus Abstemius in 1526.

³⁸ Tiresio Foscarari (symbol 2) was a senator, Bartolomeus Volteius (symbol 9) an *eques auratus*, the Pepoli, Ugo and Filippo (symbol 48), members of a very old noble family, Girolamo Ferri (symbol 100 [=98]) a Bolognese citizen ('civi bononiensi integerrimo'), Paolo Pino (symbol 101) a legal expert, Francesco Bolognetti (symbol 114 [=112]) a Senator, Giovanni Poggi (symbol 118 [=116]) a cardinal, Alessandro and Giovanni Campeggi (symbol 123 [=121]) respectively Cardinal and Bishop, Girolamo Sauli (symbol 126 [-124]) an Archbishop, Andrea Casali (symbol 130 [=128]) a Senator.

³⁹ Symbol I. Alpers, 'Giulio Bonasone', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 30 (1967) 272-295; A. Petrucci, 'Giulio Bonasone', *Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani*, 11 (Rome, 1969) 591-594; M. Catelli Isola, 'Giulio Bonasone', in: F. Barbari (ed.), *Studi di Storia dell'arte in onore di A. Petrucci* (Milan, 1969) 19-25; M. B. Cirillo, 'Giulio Bonasone', in: W.-L. Strauss (ed.), *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 29 (New-York, 1982) 205-351; A. Lugli, 'Le *Symbolicae quaestiones* di Achille Bocchi e la cultura dell'emblema in Emilia', in: A. Emiliani (ed.), *Le arti a Bologna e in Emilia dal 16 al 17 secolo. Atti del XXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte* (Bologna, 1982) 87-96; S. Massari, *Giulio Bonasone: catalogo*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1983); F. G. Schab, 'Bonasone', *Print Quarterly*, 2 (1985) 58-62; K. G. Saur, 'Bonasone' *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, I (Munich-Leipzig, 1996) 472.

Raphael, Giulio Romano, Michelangelo, Titian and Prospero Fontana. In her exhibition catalogue, Stefania Massari portrays Bonasone as a learned painter, who was actively involved in the *inventio* of the symbolic programme on the engravings of Bocchi's emblem book.⁴⁰ Her thesis has been questioned since the engravings of the *Symbolicae quaestiones* differ remarkably from the rest of Bonasone's production.⁴¹ The quotations in Greek, Latin and Hebrew in the engravings were certainly not invented by Bonasone who only uses Italian in the rest of his work. We have no evidence that Bonasone figured in the intellectual circles of Bologna.

Some engravings offer an allegorical or historical composition that unquestionably comes from a purely literary source. Thus, the *nothè Dianoia* in the engraving for symbol 28⁴² refers directly to Plato's *Timaeus* (62b)⁴³: the reader who wants to understand what matter ('materiam', *hylè*) is, has to go through this kind of hybrid reasoning process which is halfway between singular sensitive perception and universal intelligible knowledge. In the 'hieroglyphic' engraving *nothè Dianoia* is represented as a hybrid being, holding *hylè* with a *vinculum* (i.e. a chain of reasoning) walking (i.e. movement of the thought process) on the ground (i.e. sensitivity), but her head hidden in the clouds (i.e. intelligibility). The picture offers a genuine interpretation of the original Greek text, which cannot be Bonasone's work exclusively. In the same way, symbol 139 (= 137) cannot be understood without referring to Cicero's *Tusculanae disputationes*. It is noteworthy that the abstract arguments given by Cicero in favour of the contempt for death are taken up in Bocchi's epigram⁴⁴, while the Ciceronian *exemplum* — Theramenes' death⁴⁵ — appears in the engraving only. Thus the rhetorical *exemplum* represented in the picture perfectly plays the illustrative part required by its iconic nature. Only Bocchi, who knew Cicero's texts by heart, can be responsible for this choice.

⁴⁰ S. Massari, *Catalogo*, vol. 1, 11-15. It is also C. Balavoine's view that we questioned in our thesis, vol. 4, 1348-1357) and in our article 'Du voyage comme métaphore: errance et salut dans deux emblèmes d'Achille Bocchi (1555)' in: J. Pigeaud (ed.), *Vie Entretiens de la Garenne-Lemot* (Nantes, 19-21 October 2000) [forthcoming].

⁴¹ See A. Lugli, 'Le *Symbolicae quaestiones*', 88; M. B. Cirillo, 'Giulio Bonasone', 222.

⁴² See A. Rolet, 'De l'explicite à l'indicible: jeux littéraires et discours philosophique dans le symbol 28 des *Quaestiones Symbolicae* d'Achille Bocchi (1555)', paper presented at the Fourth International Emblem Conference, Leuven, 13-23 August 1996 [forthcoming].

⁴³ Plato uses the expression *nothos logismos*. The term *dianoia* is Aristotelian.

⁴⁴ Symbol 139, v. 13-28 = Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes*, I, 117; v. 37-78 = *Tusc.* I, 118; v. 85-96 = *Tusc.*, II, 2.

⁴⁵ Cicero, *Tusc.* II, 96-98

It is clear however that the technical realisation of the picture, the selection of the aesthetic quotations and the pictorial invention were made by the engraver. The clearest example of interaction between the technical liberty of the engraver and the scientific control of the emblemist is undoubtedly the engraving of *symbolon* 140.⁴⁶ Bonasone took his inspiration directly from an illustration in the *Liber de nihilo* by Charles Bovelles, representing the creation of the world by God as a glass blower.⁴⁷ Interestingly, the idea to illustrate the epigram based on a Ciceronian text about the fifth element of Aristotle⁴⁸ with a Christian creation of the world, presupposes knowledge of a text by Pseudo-Clement of Rome, who identified the fifth element with the God of the Old Testament.⁴⁹ Only Bocchi, not the artist, could have had this knowledge. In the same way, the hieroglyphic sequence in the angel's hand on the engraving of *symbolon* 147 (=145) coming from the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* can only be attributed to a scholar like Bocchi who was aware of the Neo-Platonic interpretation of the hieroglyphic language as the language of demons.⁵⁰

In several cases Bonasone got his inspiration from paintings or engraved copies of them.⁵¹ For example, Ganymede's abduction represented in *symbolon* 78 (=76) was clearly inspired by an engraving of Nicolas Béatrizet, who was himself influenced by Michelangelo's drawing on the same subject.⁵² The *Fides* of *symbolon* 130 (=128) or the two Muses of the Zodiac of *symbolon* 127 (=125), are quotations from *Poetry* and *Urania with the signs of the Libra and of the Scorpio* by Raphael, already engraved by Raimondi between 1517 and 1520.⁵³ The representation of Diogenes the Cynic in *symbolon* 100 (=98) owes undoubtedly more to Ugo da Carpi and

⁴⁶ See A. Rolet, 'Aristote, Cicéron et la *Genèse*: une lecture emblématique de la *quinta natura* au XVI^e siècle', *Littérature*, 122 (2001) 55-74.

⁴⁷ Watson, *Achille Bocchi*, 124-125 identifies the iconographic source of the engraving but states that Bocchi's epigram is a variation on Bovelles's text. We cannot agree with this conclusion.

⁴⁸ Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes*, II, 66-67.

⁴⁹ Pseudo-Clement, *Recognitiones*, VIII, 15 (Latin translation by Rufinus) in Migne, *P.L.*, 1, 1378 b-1379a.

⁵⁰ See Rolet, 'De l'usage détourné', 221-256.

⁵¹ For the imitation of Prospero Fontana (symbols 31 and 37) and the problem of the authorship of the engravings and preparatory drawings, see A. Lugli, 'Le *Symbolicae quaestiones*', 88; D. DeGrazia, *Correggio and His Legacy: Sixteenth Century Emilian Drawings* (Washington, 1984) 265 and F. Schab, 'Bonasone', *Print Quarterly*, 2 (1985) 58.

⁵² See the two reproductions in G. Kemper, *Ganymed. Studien zur Typologie, Ikonographie und Ikonologie* (Cologne-Vienna, 1980) no. 83 (Michelangelo) and 87 (Nicolas Béatrizet).

⁵³ See *The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 28, 73, no. 382 and 90 no. 397.

Giacopo da Caraglio⁵⁴ than to Raphael himself. Bonasone was also inspired by Niccolò dell'Abate in *symbolon* 148.⁵⁵ The *inventio* of some pictures goes back to Roman coins Bocchi gave to Bonasone, as the representation of *Spes augusta* in the *symbolon* 104⁵⁶, of Tiber in *symbolon* 97 (=95)⁵⁷ or of *Roma* in *symbolon* 124 (=122).⁵⁸

Bonasone produced the engravings for the *Symbolicae quaestiones*, with the help of Bocchi, between 1548 and 1555. Some fragments of the work circulated before its official publication in 1555 without illustrations, as, for example, the poems taken from his poetic manuscripts and some *symbola* described and explained in letters written by Bocchi in 1547-1548.⁵⁹ The only illustrated testimony is provided by Bocchi's autograph manuscript (British Library, *Sloane* 3158).

The work appeared in 1555. Its dedicatee, Julius III, granted a privilege for fifty years to the Bocchian press. The work was also granted a royal privilege from Francis I and Henry II to prevent any pirate edition in France. The copies printed by the Bocchian press contained many mistakes, especially in the distribution and the numeration of the engravings.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ See the plates in symbol Ferrara (ed.), *Incisori Bolognesi ed Emiliani del' 500*, General catalogue of old pictures of the National Art Gallery of Bologna and of the Cabinet of Estampes (Bologna, 1975) nos. 170 and 481.

⁵⁵ See S. Béguin, 'A Lost Fresco of Niccolò dell'Abate at Bologna in Honor of Julius III', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 18 (1955) 114-122.

⁵⁶ See, for example, some sesterces of Claudius in H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* (London, 1923) nos. 124 and 182.

⁵⁷ See for some sesterces of Vespasian where the river-God appears in the background, behind Rome on its seven hills and the she-wolf feeding Romulus and Remus J. Le Gall, *Recherches sur le culte du Tibre* (Paris, 1953) 3-22.

⁵⁸ It is a frequent type of reverse on the sesterce of Nero minted in Lyons towards 64-66; see Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire*, nos. 326 and 265.

⁵⁹ A. Bocchi, *Epistulae ad R. Amaseum*, Milan, Ambrosian Library, D. 145 Inf.

⁶⁰ See Watson, *Achille Bocchi*, 208, no. 45. For the posthumous edition in 1574 *apud Societatem typographiae Bononiensis*, see Massari, *Giulio Bonasone, Catalogo*, vol. 2. For the pictures touched up by the talented Agostino Carracci, see B. Bohn in *The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 39, 1, 5-6, who makes a regrettable mistake probably because of the incoherence of the pagination in the 1555 edition. Apparently he has not seen there were two Ganymedeses either: one naked (symbol 78 [=76]), the other wearing clothes (symbol 79 [=77]). Carracci cut Bonasone's pictures again, but in general his intervention hardly affected the original designs. However he engraved the ox skull of symbol 1 at new expenses, the picture with Diogenes of symbol 100 (=98), that of symbol 36 and the *Spes Augusta* of symbol 104: even in those cases, he stuck to the composition of Bonasone, down to minor iconographical details.

The Strata of Composition and the Testimony of the London Manuscript

A number of poems, however, were written long before the emblem book was published. The emblems give us various chronological clues:

1. Some poems offer a precise date, like *symbolon* 48 devoted to Ugo Pepoli's death (1543), or *symbolon* 63, referring to an archeological discovery (1548) and *symbolon* 121. about the death of Pope Paul III in 1549. In *symbolon* 139, Bocchi refers to his father's death: thus 1536 is the *terminus post quem* for the writing of the epigram.

2. The poems from the *Libellus* dedicated to Leo X (*Symbola* 6 and 7; *symbolon* 11; *symbolon* 94 [=92]; *symbolon* 124 [=122]; *symbolon* 129 [=127]) were composed between 1515 and 1521.

In this perspective, the reading of the *Sloane* manuscript is of vital interest, because it shows Bocchi's final corrections, including some changes of dedication. The most interesting example concerns *symbolon* 78 (=76), dedicated to Roberto Maggi. From the manuscript, it appears that the poem was originally dedicated to Pope Leo X, which means that it must have been composed before 1521. Only the first dedication, however, allows us to understand its subtle composition: Bocchi takes up once more the Xenophontic etymological interpretation of the Greek 'Ganymedes'.⁶¹ Xenophon understood the abduction of the Phrygian shepherd by the Jovian eagle as the rapt of the soul by the love of Beauty. Furthermore, Bocchi implicitly refers to cabbalistic speculations about the figure 10, which depend on Leo X. Egidio da Viterbo states that the Shekinah, the tenth and last Sephira ('divine glory') that revealed the Cabbala mysteries in the tenth century, opened with Leo X. The Shekinah appears in the form of an eagle that carries off Emperor Charles V (naked because he got rid of the 'tunica errorum') and takes him to the ten gardens of Paradise, the Ganim Heden (with a pun on the name of Ganymedes): Bocchi represents Leo X here, instead of Charles V, as a new Ganymedes, a new Enoch, and a new Elijah.⁶²

Theoretical Models: the Great Power of Allegory

The title chosen by Bocchi for his book of emblems *Achillis Bocchii Bononiensis symbolicarum quaestionum de universo genere quas serio*

⁶¹ Xenophon, *Convivium*, VIII, 30.

⁶² See E. da Viterbo, *Shekinah*, Paris, B. N., lat. 3363, fol. 164, quoted by F. Secret, 'Le symbolisme de la Kabbale chrétienne dans la Shekinah de Edigio da Viterbo' in: E. Castelli (ed.), *Umanesimo e simbolismo* (Padua, 1958)145-146, 148.

ludebat libri quinque, the name *symbolum* used to designate each piece and the prefatory poems (symbols 1 to 3) show an undeniable programmatic character. Still, it seems risky to naively apply the suggested criteria on the emblems, in as much as they themselves depend upon a commonplace topos. For a study of Bocchi's emblematic practice its sources and implicit nature have to be defined, and its insufficiencies have to be understood.

From the quaestio to the symbolum

Starting from the title, Bocchi chooses for the highly precise technique of the *quaestio* with its ancient and scholastic⁶³ roots, which addresses a particular problem and then tries to solve it. Influenced by this plural ascendance, Bocchi often adopts the rhetorical structure of question/answer⁶⁴ as well as the alternation of interrogation/affirmation within the framework of a fictitious dialogue⁶⁵ between the poet and his Muse.⁶⁶ Even if the problem is

⁶³ The technique of the *quaestiones* and *responsiones* is initiated by Pseudo-Aristotle, *Zētēmata kai luseis*. Illustrated by the *Noctes atticae* of Aulus Gellius, the *Saturnaliorum libri* by Macrobius, Plutarch's *Quaestiones conviviales* and other testimonies of symposiastic literature such as Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistes*, this genre was much liked by the Church Fathers, e.g. Jerome's *Quaestiones hebraicae*, the *De diversis quaestionibus LXXXIII*, the *Quaestiones VII ad Simplicianum*, and the *Quaestiones VIII Dulcitii* by Augustine. In the Middle Ages, this principal creates the quodlibetical literature, of which the *Sententiae disputatae* by Peter Lombard (12th century) is the first example. These books constitute real handbooks in which different quotations and authorities are collected around a particular theological problem. This is done according to Abelard's dialectic method of the 'sic' and 'non' (yes or no), so that they could be used as a source of discussions in the dialectic schools.

⁶⁴ For example see symbol 35: 'Quis sapientiae amator sit requiris [...] / Dicam'; symbol 39: 'Miraris quod/ [...] Quaeso ubi tum fuerat, dic mihi, Christophorus'; symbol 40: 'Aristoteles / Forte rogatus, ea est caccorum quaestio dixit'; [...] cur tam capiar virtutis amore / Quid quaereret posthac; symbol 54: 'Dicite [...] Cur'; symbol 62: 'Dic rogo, quacnam es tu?' symbol 83: 'dic rogo, quidnam attice avis loquitur?'; symbol 132: 'Quoniam sic tu mihi Romule mandas'; symbol 137: 'Manda Chimerae enucleari symbolum'. The answer itself can bear an attenuated form of interrogation, 'an quia' ('is it not why')? See symbol 54 (v. 6) and symbol 61 about Proteus: 'Quidnam aliud Proteus quam Veri ipsius imago est?'

⁶⁵ See symbol 36 in which every interrogation, like in the epigrammatic epigrams of the *Anthologia Planudea*, is followed by an answer: 'quacnam haec [...] virgo? / Ars est. Quis dedit id nominis huic/ 'Aretae etc.'. We can notice the succession of 'cur', 'quid', followed by affirmations. See also symbol 43 on Hercules Gallicus ('quid imago hae vult sibi?'), symbol 53 on a characteristic gesture of Alexander ('Curnam sic faceret?'), symbol 54 on the sacrifice of a cock carried out by Socrates before he died ('Cur vigilem medico mandavit rite litandam'), symbol 55 on a statue of Hercules ('Quae statua insignis?'); symbol 61 on Proteus, symbol 64 on a statuette of Fortune ('Quae Dea? Servatrix fortuna est?'); symbol 78 on Ganymede ('Cur olim pulchros rapti

not explicitly presented in the form of an interrogation, it is often very easy to substitute one in its place. For example, the problem in symbol 151 would be: 'Why has the God Janus got two faces?'; in symbol 139: 'Why should we not be scared of death?'; in symbol 140: 'Is the soul immortal?'; in symbol 141: 'How can we fight against pain?'; in symbol 147: 'Why do we have to honour our good daimon?' Let us add that the question is often a rhetorical artifice to present a complex object, or an allegory with multiple components, and to solicit its interpretation. At the same time, most of the *tituli* surmounting the texts and the engravings are composed either of a brief statement of a gnomic or aphoristic character which answers the (implicit) question resolved in the text, or of the question itself explicitly formulated.⁶⁷ The *titulus*, in this sense, plays a very important role: it sums up in a brief formula the interpretative results of the text but, if it is above the engraving, it can also superimpose solutions to explain the latter⁶⁸, indeed to let it speak.⁶⁹

In fact, any real or imaginary, enigmatic or complex object, any allegory with multiple attributes, any surprising physiological qualities of an animal or plant, any striking sentence with obscure or mythical origins, any proverbial or paradoxical formula, any marking apophthegm can give rise to a *quaestio* conceived as a question/solution sequence. That answer itself can take on an enigmatic, elliptic or concetto-styled character, especially since it

Ganymedis honores'), symbol 83 on Pallas and his owl, symbol 93 ('Cur [...] / Non est obscura causa'), symbol 102 on the Hermathena ('Quis, tibi sancte puer'), etc.

⁶⁶ See symbol 90: 'Dic Musa, quaeso, cur'; symbol 92: 'Dic rogo diva'; symbol 134: 'Eximiam nostri Camotei, Diva, figuram / Fare age'; symbol 141 'Dic age Melpomene quae sit medicina dolorum [...]']

⁶⁷ See for example symbol 7, 'quantum possit amor'; symbol 16: 'Qualis boni sit militis in imperatorem metus'; symbol 67: 'Quodam sit veri principis officium'; symbol 68: 'semper videndum quid sat est in omnibus'; symbol 80: 'Hic Anteros, quid est nisi verum esse amorem mutuum?'

⁶⁸ For example, the *titulus* of symbol 137 answers the problem posed by the tripartition of the chimera and follows the results of the text ('ars rhetorica triplex movet, iuvat, docet') but placed over the engraving which represents the fight between Bellcrophon and the monster, gives it interpretation of the illustration ('sed praepotens est veritas divinitus, sic monstra vitiorum dormat prudentia').

⁶⁹ See for example symbol 9: 'Constantia heic effingitur'; symbol 13: 'Amoris antipharum'; symbol 27: 'Hoc illud Bocchi nobile symposium est'; symbol 29: 'Sic ars deprenditur arte'; symbol 43: 'Hic Hercules est Gallicus'; symbol 79: 'Sculptoris iam nunc Ganymedem cerne Leocrac, pacati emblema hoc corporis atque animi est'. The deictic element leads back to the picture. Still, we find demonstrative words in the *tituli* preceding the epigrams. They then prepare the epigraphic stage. See for example symbol 41 'Hoc est ex Platonic symbolum'; symbol 65 'Palladas hoc peplum est, inspicie proficies'; symbol 67 'Haec Rhamnusia diva principalis'; symbol 80 'Hic anteros'; symbol 82 'Hoc Bocchiani symbolum'.

is moulded in the form of an epigram. Furthermore, the integration of the *quaestio* with short poetic forms is reinforced by the knowledge of the *Greek Anthology* in which, for example, ecphrastic epigrams offer the alternation one-sign/one-meaning.⁷⁰ In this way, the *quaestio* in Bocchi indicates the allegorical exegesis of a *symbolum*; it tries to clarify the reasons for the union between an object given to representation (thing, word, act), which in itself would remain problematic, and a mental content which sheds light on the meaning and uncovers its value. Besides, it is the object *symbolum* itself which gives the *quaestio* the generic name of *symbolum* chosen by Bocchi instead of the term *emblemata*: most of the epigrams focus on the two sides of the symbol, by first describing the object that is represented and its enigmatic characteristics (*quaestio*) – an evocation that is often doubled up or even made more precise⁷¹ by the engraving – and by then presenting an abstract interpretation (*responsio*).

The ars poetica of the Symbolicae quaestiones

In the *Symbolum symbolorum* and symbols 2 and 3 Bocchi amply defines the theoretical programme of his book. The *Symbolum symbolorum*, symbol 1, is a real *quaestio*. It answers the question 'quid sit symbolum' with the juxtaposition of *auctoritates* more or less acknowledged, grouped in a large paraphrase of the article 'Symbolum' in the *Commentarii linguae graecae* by Guillaume Budé published in 1529.⁷² Several important elements of this inaugural emblem deserve special attention:

⁷⁰ Alciato uses again a certain number of Latin translations made from the *Anthologia Planudea* in the *Emblemata* like for example the Statue of Fortune, with its elbow and its bridle or the Statue of Fortune by Lysippus. The iconic nature of the referent, of the *res significans*, of the 'hieroglyph' in its horapollean meaning, plays a determining role in the symbolic process.

⁷¹ In symbol 64, for example, the seven-branch menorah, in Mercury's hands in the engraving is not explicitly evoked in the text as an object. But the constant celebration of the *mens* and the *cor* in the poem offers a possible clue, confirmed by the patristic texts particularly Origen who sees in the candelabrum the symbol of the inside tabernacle lit by the seven gifts of the Spirit. See our analysis in the last section of this article. In the same way, the poem symbol 63 does not specify that the statuette of Fortune discovered in Bologna is composed of two faces of Nemesis facing each other. The picture just shows it explicitly and makes it clear that the source of this emblem dedicated to the two Alessandro Farnese, protectors of Bologna, is a coin showing two Nemesis who appear in Alexander's dream and who symbolize the old and the new Smyrna.

⁷² For the analysis of the ancient sources in Budé, see D. L. Drysdall, 'Budé on *Symbola*, *symbolon*, text and translation', *Emblematica*, 8,2 (1994) 339-349. For Bocchi's additions and

1. The ancient references from Budé clearly highlight the *symbolum* as an iconic sign (military signs, seals, coins, foreboding). As such, they refer to the notion of hieroglyphics as seen in the Renaissance, *i.e.* as a sacred sign the interpretation of which requires specific and esoteric knowledge.⁷³ It hardly comes as a surprise to see that the picture opposite the text is conceived as a hieroglyphic sequence after the manner of Francesco Colonna which includes 'hieroglyphics' linked by a strict syntax and the transcription in Latin of the whole by means of a *titulus*. In the case of 'Victoria ex labore honesta et utilis' we know, for example, that the sign for victory in antiquity is double and consists of a laurel wreath and a palm leaf.⁷⁴ In fact, Bocchi uses this double sign to visualise two different ideas. The palm leaves sticking out of the orbits of the ox skull translate in its proper meaning 'ex' ('out of'), the victory that is owed by work (ox skull). The crown *above* the skull shows that victory is based on work, and that it is its foundation, the principle of it (abstract meaning of 'ex'). Unlike in the case of Colonna, the farming instruments which frame the skull are not to be taken as an idea of *labor* already expressed by the ox skull itself, but as the idea of 'instrumenta', hence 'utilitas'. Rolled around the hoes – a rolling which represents the junction imposed by 'et' – the bandages meant *to dress* the sacrificial victim translate the idea of 'honor' but it must be taken in the moral meaning of 'honestum', of the adornment of the soul.

2. Bocchi widens the meaning of the symbol to all forms of literary statement making use of the *hyponoia*, the rhetorical art of hidden meanings and of allegory: Pythagorean symbols⁷⁵, allegories, enigmas, synthemata.⁷⁶ As Quintilian puts it (IX, 2, 46), allegory consists in saying something and meaning another, a definition taken up again by Bocchi through Budé.⁷⁷ But we must not forget that if allegory can be the creation of a discourse with a double meaning, it is also an interpretation of a text attributing this duplicity. Furthermore, Bocchi can exploit this double definition by offering a known

the general analysis of this emblem, see Rolet, *Les Symbolicae quaestiones d'Achille Bocchi* II, 695-706.

⁷³ K. Gielhow, 'Die Hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus in der Allegorie der Renaissance', *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXXII, 1 (Vienna and Leipzig, 1915) 23-24.

⁷⁴ See F. Cumont, *Le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (Paris, 1942) *passim*.

⁷⁵ See symbols 26 and 76.

⁷⁶ The terms Bocchi chose are linked: The Pythagorean symbols are enigmas; the enigma is a continuous allegory, synthema, a synonym for allegorical speech.

⁷⁷ '[Nolim putes] Et in sensum in illum quem indicant / Exaudienda protinus' ('And do not think you have to understand them in the mentioned meaning', v. 50).

exegesis of an ancient symbol or by creating a new object whose meaning is given by him (for example the 'lucerna pensilis' of the Farnese, symbol 139 or the tribolos dedicated to Camozzi, symbol 134).

3. The reference to Alciato (v. 38) and to the *Emblemata* is of major significance. Like in Alciato's work, the epigram that represents and explains the *emblemata* or *signum* bears the title of *Emblema*;⁷⁸ in Bocchi's work the *symbolum* as an object becomes *Symbolum* as a generic form.⁷⁹ It is also from Alciato that Bocchi borrows the idea of addressing the piece to a dedicatee.⁸⁰ Moreover, Bocchi uses subjects already studied by Alciato (Janus, the Chimera, Nemesis, Pan and his syrinx, Alciato's arms) but he does not give the same exegesis of them. Nevertheless, the *Emblemata* editions with engravings and *tituli*⁸¹ are undoubtedly responsible for Bocchi's choice to create the *symbolum* not as a purely textual form, but as a harmonious combinations of epigrams, engraving, *titulus* and dedication.

4. The dichotomy which by nature characterises the *symbolum* engenders a dual rhetoric which works in binomials (sacred/profane, hidden/visible, divine/human, pure/impure, elected/rejected, spirit/flesh). This phenomenon has Platonic-Christian roots, and is particularly inspired by Dionysius the Areopagite, who is mentioned by Bocchi through Budé. If the reading of the symbol, *i.e.* the passage from representation to meaning is hard, it is because the *signum* protects the excellency of a doctrine meant for the people initiated who are generally of a divine origin (v. 41 sq: 'mysteriorum plena'; 'documenta commodissima [...] vitae atque morum'; 'divinitus sunt tradita'; 'involucra [...] abdita scientiae haud erratica'). Only the wise man can rise from the corruption of the senses and that of matter to the pure and sacred, invisible universe of Ideas and of the Intellect. The allegorical

⁷⁸ This fundamental blending between evocation/exegesis of the symbolic elements defines the emblem, as Alciato himself wrote in the letter addressed to F. Calvo dated December, 9, 1522.

⁷⁹ Besides, Bocchi uses the terms *emblemata* in symbol 79 about the symbolic meaning of the statue of Ganymede by Leochares ('pacati hoc emblemata hoc corporis atque animi est'): the term *emblemata* covers all the meanings of the word *signum*, being at the same time a statue, a sign and the interpretation of this sign. He uses it in symbol 86 when it is a synonym of *symbolum* in its generic meaning of emblem, a poetic play accompanied by a picture, a *titulus*, a dedication.

⁸⁰ In Alciato's work, the emblems are to allow the creation of a coat of arms which is worn on clothes or hats as well as signs (Aldus's anchor, Froben's dove, Calvo's elephant): they become the expression of an *impresa*, of a purpose in life. See the letter to F. Calvo mentioned above *supra* and the dedication to Conrad Peutinger in the Augsburg edition of 1531.

⁸¹ These elements were not intended by Alciato. See H. Miedema, 'The term *emblemata* in Alciato', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 31 (1968) 234-250 and C. Balavoine, 'Les *Emblèmes* d'Alciato: sens et contre-sens', in: Y. Giraud (ed.), *L'Emblème à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1982) 49-59.

approach is no longer merely a language convention. Rather, it has a real philosophical and religious stake which allows a distinction between elected beings enamoured of reason and wisdom ('sanis', v. 44; 'bonis', v. 57) and those who are rejected, filled with madness ('imprudenteribus', v. 45; 'mali', v. 55; 'perditi', v. 56). In its efforts to annihilate the image addressing the senses and the inferior soul ('sensus prophanus', v. 63; 'mentibus vulgi', v. 61-62), it tries to reach the purely noetic nature, that of the superior soul which is divine. Thus, it rises from the profane to the sacred ('sacra', v. 54; 'sancta', v. 55). Of course, these are claims⁸² related to the mythical origins of the hieroglyphic language, the language of Egyptian priests, the birthplace of ancient spirituality⁸³ but certainly also linked to the learned man's claim for a special status.

Employing the rhetorical topos of painting that cannot represent the soul, the epigram of symbol 2 in its turn invites us to surpass sensitively in order to reach the understandable (v. 4: 'qui sapit, hic plus intelligit ac legitur', 'the wise man here grasps more than what one reads'). The portrait of Bocchi by Prospero Fontana, who was not able to 'paint Achilles' soul', ('non mentem pingere Achillis'), is a reminder of the portrait of Melanchthon by Dürer⁸⁴ and even beyond this, we think that it alludes to Plato and Xenophon's words⁸⁵ on the status and the quality of the soul, that is in a way released by the portrait, just as the material configuration of the symbol releases analogies on its intellectual content. This motif of the portrait as a sign is present in a different form in symbol 24 about the virtue of Francis I, which is not revealed in his portrait; in symbol 59, on Chilon of Sparta's mirror, where Socrates invites people to look at themselves in order to reach harmony between soul and image⁸⁶; in symbol 91, where Socrates invites people to be as they wish to appear, and to behave like the virtuous man

⁸² For example Plato, *Letters*, II, 312 d and 314 a.d. This idea of God hidden behind the veils of allegory is used in the Renaissance by Nicholas of Cusa, Pico or Reuchlin but also by Ficino in terms that are often close to Bocchi's or Budé's, for example in the *Convivium*, IV, 2. On this aspect of Neo-Platonism in the Renaissance, see E. Wind, *Mystères païens de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1992) 'Le dieu caché' 236 sq. (more complete).

⁸³ On the mythical genealogies adopted in the Renaissance that link through Egypt Pythagoras, Plato, Moses and Hermes Trismegistus, see F.A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London, 1964).

⁸⁴ Watson, *Achille Bocchi*, 32.

⁸⁵ Plato, *Cratylus*, 432b and Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, III, 10, 3.

⁸⁶ See Diogenes Laertius, II, 33.

whose reputation we wish we had ourselves⁸⁷ and, finally in symbol 132 (v. 71-80), on the portraits of Paul III by Titian or Michelangelo, which represent the spiritual excellency of the pope. These latter portraits are the equivalents of a symbolic portrait of the pope depicted in the *lucerna pensilis* who shines in the darkness and never falls down in torment.

Symbol 3 completes this reflection.⁸⁸ A true mosaic of quotations, the long poem opens with describing characters who have gained fame through their ability to use the power of imagery for the pedagogical aim of making a difficult concept or idea more accessible: Socrates and Ulysses by Homer, orators celebrated by Xenophon⁸⁹ start the list, whilst Esop and his *Fables*, Pythagoras and his *Symbols*, the poets, real 'painters' ('sic dia poemata vates/Pinxere') follow. As is indicated by the *titulus*, the aim is to make evident ('patent') what is hidden ('quae latent'). This clarification of reality (*evidentia* or *enargeia*) is possessed by the rhetoric or poetic image (*pictura*): of course, *pictura* does not refer to the engraving in itself which accompanies the poem as E. Watson maintains,⁹⁰ but to the picture painted by Socrates inspired by his good daimon (a pictorial version of the adage *nosce te ipsum*, and of what in Greek is called the *nous*, the place of the divine instillation) and to the mathematical ideas shown by the square and compass he is holding. The action of painting allows the visual translation of Socrates' capacity to use the iconic possibilities of the language for didactic means (metaphor, myth, apologue, or allegory) to account for immaterial realities. The double nature of the symbol allows Bocchi to play on the topoi borrowed from the *Epistula ad Pisones* by Horace. The famous formula 'miscere utile dulci' ('to combine the business with pleasure'), which Horace declines in 'delectando pariterque monendo' ('please and teach at the same time')⁹¹ can be found in Bocchi's work, lines 24-25, recalling the significant doublets of lines 22-23 ('seria'/'inani'; 'pictura'/'pondera rerum') and of course the programmatic opposition of the title, *serio ludere* ('trifling with seriousness'): the light and entertaining side is left to the engraving, the seriousness and the truth to the concepts they translate. Because even if the symbol might well be double, it nevertheless constitutes a unity of which the image and its variety of

⁸⁷ Bocchi gets his inspiration here from Cicero, *De officiis*, II, 43 and from Valerius Maximus, VII, 2, 1. The anecdote is already given by Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, I, 7, 1-5 and II, 6, 39.

⁸⁸ For an analysis of the text and the picture, see Rolet, *Les Symbolicae quaestiones d'Achille Bocchi*, 706-710.

⁸⁹ Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, IV, 6, 14-15.

⁹⁰ Watson, *Achille Bocchi*, 85.

⁹¹ Horace, *Epistula ad Pisones* (*Ars poetica*), 343-344.

meanings are intrinsically part: it is a body in which flesh and spirit unite. This security offered in the engraving allows Bocchi to vaunt its capacity to imitate nature ('Naturam imitari', v. 26), its different forms and the resulting sensible seduction ('varias formas', v. 27), tokens of *delectatio* but also *species Veri* (v. 30) 'appearances that the Real takes'. When Bocchi borrows from Horace the image of the bee of Matinus,⁹² he claims the freedom of the *silva* and of the *poikilia*, right to go, as Montaigne says, 'à sauts et à gambades' towards the treasures left by Antiquity ('veterum decreta sophorum', v. 34): the title of the book already promised emblems 'de universo genere'.

A word is essential to conclude this analysis: the *symbolum*, like the *pictura*, in the wide sense of the Aristotelian *eikôn* is first thought up by Bocchi in terms of mental image, provided by a text (we will set aside the case of devices, coins and coats of arms). The whole allegorical tradition of Antiquity gives weight to this conception. In these conditions, what role can be given to the engraving in the system of the Bocchian emblem?

From Text to Picture: the Laws of Complementarity

When referring to the Bocchian emblems one cannot strictly speak of a real 'structure': the presence or the absence of *tituli* and dedications, their layout with regard to the text or the engraving does not seem to answer criteria other than circumstantial. Besides the London manuscript shows numerous hesitations: a good number of *tituli* or dedications meant to be placed above the text are moved to above the engraving and vice-versa. It can be noticed that the relation between the meaning and the place between *titulus* and picture sometimes plays the role of a *motto* especially where a dedication is added: presentation of an object, of an animal, a plant or a hero in the engraving; ethical exegesis of one of its properties thanks to the *titulus* that becomes *motto*; attribution of this *impresa* to an addressee, the dedicatee.⁹³ It is to be noticed that apart from symbol 2, no picture stands bare: all are provided with either a *titulus* or a dedication, sometimes both. In the same way, only the poems in symbols 30 and 31 are deprived of them. Nevertheless

⁹² Horace, *Odes*, IV, 2, 27.

⁹³ See among others symbols 132 and 134.

there is a constant element: all emblems open with an engraving and go on with a poem.⁹⁴

Despite this disposition which privileges the visual approach, the exegesis of an emblem imposes a reading by *anabasis*, according to the judicious expression of Claudie Balavoine:⁹⁵ all the epigrams refer to ancient or contemporary sources they imitate, paraphrase or contest. It is essential to spot the intertextual core before starting the elucidation of the engraving. Several reasons justify this approach. In fact, as was previously said, some of the texts of the *Symbolicae quaestiones* belong to poetry books prior to Bocchi where they appeared without *any engravings*. Moreover the generic classification of the Bocchian poems into odes, elegies, consolatory epistles, panegyric and allegoric epigrams after Claudianus or Sidonius Apollinaris, the presence of *flores*, of *excerpta* and of sense borrowed from Latin and Greek poets and prosaists, as well as the use of the complex Horatian metric attest to the totally literary desire of emulation with the ancient texts: apart from the *imprese* or the description of a coat of arms, the poem is never conceived as the rhetorical development of the engraving. Finally, in some cases, a passage from an ancient text is used as the basis of the engraving of the emblem, a passage unmentioned by Bocchi, whilst using an adjacent passage for inspiration from its situation or thematics. Thus, in symbol 139, the example of Theramenes and Critias illustrated by the engraving is borrowed from Cicero (*Tusc.*, I, 96-99), which makes it comparable with that of Socrates, but the Bocchian poem does not mention it, choosing to develop a contiguous passage from the Cicero source. The notion of literary source for the engraving as well as for the text is thus essential.

The relation between the text and the picture can be grouped into three substantial categories:

1. The engraving is an illustration and exploits the strictly narrative⁹⁶ or iconic elements of the text: the symbolic object, the allegory, and the comparing element of the metaphor.⁹⁷ However the adequation is never

⁹⁴ Generally on the left page, apart from the opening symbol (text on the right page, illustration on the verso), the prologuc (with no illustration at all) and symbol 4 (probably due to some practical mistake in the production of the book).

⁹⁵ C. Balavoine, 'La mise en mots dans la *Délie* de Maurice Scève: plaidoyer pour une anabase' in: P. Aquilon, J. Chupeau, F. Weil (eds.), *L'intelligence du passé. Les faits, l'écriture et le sens, Mélanges offerts à Jean Lafond* (Tours, 1988) 73-86.

⁹⁶ To give an account of the diachronic development in a particular narrative, several episodes can be represented on the same ground, as can be seen, for example, in symbols 80 and 122.

⁹⁷ There are lots of examples of this. In symbol 26, dealing with the Pythagorean symbol 'Do not sit on the chenice', the engraving represents the 'Lentus' of the text (the lazy man), sitting

complete. Sometimes the engraver chooses to represent certain elements only and this selection is significant: thus symbol 41, the pugilists and the Spartan children beaten near an altar are two examples among others, evoked by Bocchi's text which paraphrases Cicero to illustrate the Greek notion of *tonos*.⁹⁸ The addition of details unmentioned in the text is often meaningful. Thus, in the same symbol 141, the face of Hercules, an appropriate patron for this consolation whose tone is eminently Stoic, surmounts the altar represented.

2. The picture copies a painting by a great artist illustrating a purpose close to Bocchi's. Let us mention for example the Diogenes by Jacopo da Caraglio to illustrate symbol 100, which praises the benefits of a 'vita sine quicquid', in the same way as the so-called Diogenes the Cynic. The Curius grilling turnips by Prospero Fontana illustrates symbol 31 on Curius refusing the Samnite gold. The stepmother chasing the children from her first marriage by Fontana again, illustrates the passage by Homer evoking the event mentioned in the poem of symbol 37. The transposition is interesting when the subjects do not cover each other completely: thus the *Poetry* by Raphael can illustrate the *Fides* mentioned in the text of symbol 130.

3. Finally, the most interesting but also the knottiest case, the engraving translates with its own means the difficulties of the text: then it is no longer a simple illustration but already an interpretation. It completes the text without doubling it. In this case, a profound inquiry about the poem will inevitably suggest some clues. Thus, the presence of the seven-branch *candelabrum* in

on a bushel, his face leaning on his hand in a perfect idleness. The turned-up sand bottle at his feet shows the freezing of time and of the situation (which shows the equivalence of the 'dies' and 'noctes' mentioned in the text). 'Fumes' under an old skinny woman's features answers the wishes of the text 'perdant te lenta tristia fata fame'. In symbol 34 which refers to the evangelical parable of the rich who will be able to reach the heavens where the camel goes through the eye of a needle, the engraving shows Matthew's text in Greek, (Matthew, 19:24) in the shape of a board but in fact it illustrates Bocchi's text which speaks of the rope and the anchor: the character holding the needle is clearly trying to introduce the rope to it. Sometimes, the result can be humorous as in the engraving of symbol 60 where the sacrifice of the grieving heart, celebrated by the Psalm (50:19) explicitly mentioned in the picture, is represented by a crowd offering burning hearts on the altar. In the case of similitude, for example with symbol 94, the splitting in two of the text around conjunctions 'ut [...] sic' making a parallel between Pericles throwing flashes, and the bombard is answered by dividing the engraving in two sections, Pericles at the top, the bombard at the bottom. In symbol 95, the examples gathered by Erasmus around the motive of the zealous merchant (*Adagia*, III, ii, 87) are translated in the engraving: the boat unloaded in the harbour by the 'nautas avidos', the camel drinking and the Greek words 'ὑπνος ἀπέστω'.

⁹⁸ *Tusc.*, II, 34-36.

Mercury's hands in the engraving of symbol 64 — an object which is not mentioned at any moment in the poem — is to be confronted with the finger which shuts the mouth in condemnation of ostentatious cultural ceremonies, and is to be compared with the poem that celebrates the heart as sanctuary of true piety. In the same way, in symbol 149, the text evokes the positive role of the own genius, whereas the engraving chooses to represent an angel-like daimon expressing a message of religious conversion borrowed from a hieroglyphic sequence by Francesco Colonna. This choice, which refers to the iconographic tradition of the Augustinian *Tolle, lege*⁹⁹, is consistent with the wide-spread sixteenth-century tendency (influenced by Neo-Platonism) to consider hieroglyphs as an immediate language of the divinity.¹⁰⁰ The choice of a creation of the world by God in the engraving of symbol 140, implies a perfect mastery of the texts, Pagan or Christian, concerning the fifth Aristotelian element evoked in the text through a quotation by Cicero.¹⁰¹ The scientific direction of Bocchi in the engravings is therefore unquestionable.

Couples and Sequences: the Effects of Composition

The anthology is divided into five books, with an almost equal number of emblems: about thirty. It is not possible to distinguish a specific principle behind the distribution of emblems. The thematic division or the one by *loci communes*, does not give any significant information. One can however notice that the fifth book often offers pieces that are clearly longer than those in the other books and of a more meditative or philosophical type. Despite this apparent lack of determination in the distribution per book, it seems possible to identify, by means of several criteria, echo and sequences phenomena which gather two emblems or even more, whether successive or not.

The first criterion to determine a sequence is iconographic and rests on the observation of the engravings. Some emblems form clearly noticeable couples through quasi-identical engravings. For example, the two successive emblems on Ganymede (symbols 78, 79) are much alike and play on the opposition naked/dressed, whereas the two emblems on *Fortuna/Nemesis*

⁹⁹See P. Courcelle, *Les Confessions de Saint Augustin dans la tradition littéraire: antécédents et postérité* (Paris, 1963).

¹⁰⁰For the references to Apuleius, Plotinus, Jamblicus, Hermias of Alexandria, Ficino and Renaissance's humanists see Rolet, 'De l'usage détourné', 221-256.

¹⁰¹See Rolet, 'Aristote, Cicéron et la *Genèse*: une lecture emblématique de la *quinta natura* au XVI^e siècle' *Littérature*, 122 (2000) 55-74.

(symbols 63, 121), that do not form a sequence, offer the same allegoric image, but the passage from one emblem to another is achieved through the opposition intact attribute/alterred attribute.

It is also possible to group the emblems about historical figures (for example Alexander the Great¹⁰² or Socrates¹⁰³), or those on mythological ones and to make up sequences in which the different aspects of the divinity decline.¹⁰⁴ Thus we can underline the figures of Hercules¹⁰⁵ and of Pallas Athena,¹⁰⁶ which are particularly numerous but also of Mercury,¹⁰⁷ Eros (blindfolded and holding his bow or not),¹⁰⁸ of Pan,¹⁰⁹ of Fortune,¹¹⁰ etc.

The connection can also be made through symbolic signs. Numerous objects with a symbolic character are declined and can be joined. The presence of the spurs and bridle bit, as attributes of temperance allows symbol 67 and symbol 82 to be joined. The scale shown as a square or a dioptré as a mark of constancy, unites symbols 41, 67 and 142. The stick to chastise the dunce — to be distinguished from Hercules' club — appears again as an essential motif in symbol 35 and symbol 69. The rope as the remedy to love, links symbols 12 and 13, which follow each other, and reinforces yet again the visual parallelism. The finger on Mercury's mouth links symbols 64 and 143. This iconographic pattern that ensures the visual transition from one emblem to the other generally implies a textual concordance: thus the pictures representing Eros give rise to love epigrams that are of clearly Petrarchan inspiration, copied from the *Anthologia Planudea*, or a Platonic hymn to Love of Beauty, etc.¹¹¹

The other criteria for classification are far less obvious, as they are not based on the visual element: thematic, generic or by dedicatee. In the same way, the definition of the sequence of emblems from an identical literary source, which was used to elaborate them, gives fruitful results. It allows grouping of, generally philosophical, emblems that have no apparent links. Thus, only the reference to Ciceronian sources can help to understand the very close links which unite symbols 139 to 141, a real exhortative triptych in

¹⁰² See symbols 53, 66 and 119.

¹⁰³ See symbols 3, 44, 59, 91 and 127.

¹⁰⁴ Watson, *Achille Bocchi*, 131-152 focuses on Hercules, Pallas and Mercury.

¹⁰⁵ See symbols 9, 33, 43, 52, 55, 62, 92, 107, 112, 141 and 142.

¹⁰⁶ See symbols 42, 51, 65, 81, 83, 102, 111, 129 and 133.

¹⁰⁷ See symbols 64, 85, 102, 129 and 143.

¹⁰⁸ See symbols 6, 7, 12, 13, 20, 75 and 89.

¹⁰⁹ See symbols 45 and 75.

¹¹⁰ See symbols 23, 41, 71, 111 and 132.

¹¹¹ See symbols 20, 75 and 80.

Stoic fashion that constitutes a dogmatic and theoretical base of the emblem sequence in the first books. Accordingly, symbols 14 to 19¹¹² give in some way the *exempla* that illustrate the more abstract purpose of symbol 139.

The Symbols and the Encoding of a Reformed Religious Programme

Bocchi's work is doubtless to be linked with the propagation of the religious Reformation in Italy. Some studies have already tried to figure out Bocchi's status in the wide range of heterodox currents: for instance, the diffusion of Erasmian ideas in Italy,¹¹³ the reformism of the *spirituali* and other evangelical circles,¹¹⁴ a form of Nicodemism within the framework of religious propaganda,¹¹⁵ or a specific type of heresy in Bologna related to the Sicilian Franciscan Camillo Renato, an Anabaptist, anti-Trinitarian and Spiritualist known for his radicalism and nevertheless defended by Bocchi during his trial.¹¹⁶ We will here focus on Bocchi's complex religious spirituality in his emblem book and so try to shed new light on his allegorical practice.¹¹⁷ This implies reconsidering which problematic notions are at stake, such as Nicodemism, religious propaganda, or evangelism, but it also calls for a solution of the following paradox: if Bocchi was attracted to a form of reformism, why is his name not included in the *Index* on charge of heresy?

The term 'Nicodemism' refers to John, 3:1-3, where Nicodemus waits until it is night before he visits Jesus. It is used for a subtle doctrine of religious dissimulation that on the one hand incites the reformed people to hide their true convictions under simulative practices to escape persecution, martyrdom and exile and, on the other hand, tries to confer a convincing

¹¹² Symbol 14 = Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes*, V, 40; symbol 15 = *Tusc.* I, 84; symbol 116 = *Tusc.* II, 62; symbol 17 = *Tusc.* V, 112; symbol 18 = *Tusc.* I, 100; symbol 19 = *Tusc.*, I, 83.

¹¹³ A.M. Orazi, *Iacopo Barozzi da Vignola, 1528-1550. Apprendistato di un architetto bolognese* (Rome, 1982) 257-262. See also S. Seidel Menchi, *Erasmus in Italia 1520-1580* (Torino, 1987).

¹¹⁴ M. Tafuri, *Venezia e il Rinascimento: Religione, scienza, architettura* (Turin, 1985) 97-101.

¹¹⁵ C. Ginzburg, *Il Nicodemismo: Simulazione et dissimulazione religiosa nell'Europa del '500* (Turin, 1970) 179-181 and D. Cantimori, 'Aspetti della propaganda religiosa nell'Europa del Cinquecento', *Umanesimo e religione nel Rinascimento* (Turin, 1975²) 175-178.

¹¹⁶ A. Rotondò, 'Per la storia dell'eresia a Bologna nel secolo XVI', *Rinascimento*, 13 (1962) 107-136 and 'Atteggiamenti della vita morale italiana del Cinquecento: la pratica nicodemistica', *Rivista storica italiana*, 79 (1967) 991-1030.

¹¹⁷ For a more comprehensive demonstration, see Rolet, *Les 'Symbolicae Quaestiones' d'Achille Bocchi*, IV, 1166-1410.

theological support to this pragmatic attitude.¹¹⁸ As such the phenomenon can be seen first in France and in Germany, then in Italy in the evangelical circles of the *spirituali* in the 1540s and 1550s. In addition to some of the biblical passages it comments upon in depth,¹¹⁹ the Nicodemite doctrine mainly rests on Origen's opposition, used by Erasmus, between the exterior or carnal man, a truly 'indifferent' matter (or *adiaphoron* to use the Stoic terminology), and the interior or spiritual man. According to the doctrine only the latter is of true value in the eyes of God *kardiognôstês*. The ceremonies and sacraments thus become *symbols*, carnal images to be interpreted in the spiritualist manner. Therefore, it is not forbidden to give the appearance of following them, especially when one's life is threatened.

But some Paulinian quotations can also justify the *pia hypocrisis* not as a passive attitude of withdrawal and defence but as a real pedagogical strategy of conversion for the use of princes, a subtle kind of diplomacy aiming for efficiency, which is washed of the guilt of lying by purity of intention. This is Erasmus' position, whereas Bocchi, protected and subsidized by the Farnese, never had to flee from persecutions.¹²⁰ If any 'Nicodemism' can be found in Bocchi's work, it is undoubtedly with the pedagogical aim – inspired by Erasmus – to diminish the harshness of a message of religious reformation addressed to the nobles of the Catholic Church. Bocchi's Nicodemism is thus not an exhortation to dissimulate (apart perhaps from symbol 61) but rather a method that in its desire to associate prudence and efficiency, uses Antiquity to promote religious conversion. Throughout the collection of emblems this attitude is more or less codified by means of Platonic and Stoic clichés. It appears not so much to be a 'revolutionary' protest but rather a stimulus to return to a Christianity that is more authentic, more spiritual and consistent with the precepts given by the Gospels and St. Paul's letters.¹²¹ Thus, it is a subtle game that permanently balances between dissimulation and protest. For example, symbol 6 clearly promotes Nicodemism: dedicated to Renée of Ferrara, daughter of the French King Louis XII and wife of Ercole d'Este, it celebrates Virgil and the story of Aristeus going down into Proteus' cavern.¹²²

¹¹⁸ See Ginzburg, *Il Nicodemismo*; Cantimori, *Umanesimo et religione*, 193-203; 204-214; 276-281 and A. Biondi, 'La giustificazione della simulazione nel Cinquecento', in: *idem* (a.o., eds.), *Eresia e Riforma nell'Italia del Cinquecento* (Florence-Chicago, 1974) 7-68.

¹¹⁹ II Kings, 5:18-19; Corinthians, 9:19-23; Galatians, 2:11-12.

¹²⁰ Erasmus, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (Act. XVII, 23) *Ignoto Deo*, L.B. edition, vol. VI, col. 501sq.

¹²¹ For Paulinian quotations in the engraving, see symbols 121 (Act., 1:24 and 15:8), 130 (2 Corinthians, 3:5 and 1 Corinthians, 3:11), 150 (Romans, 8:31).

¹²² Symbol 61, v. 2; 4-6; 10; 18-19 = Virgil, *Georgicae*, IV, 407-409; 440; 442-443.

Proteus as *imago Veri* is an interpretation borrowed from Saint Augustine (*Contra Academicos*, VI, 13) but the 'cavern of error' where opinion, the senses and pleasure reign and the polymorphic monstrosity of Proteus himself remind us of two images taken from Plato's *Republic*.¹²³ In Bocchi's symbol, Proteus does not get back his real face, a human face ('divina hominis forma interioris', v. 11) until Aristaeus (i.e., 'the best') — incarnation of the 'ratio sagax' (v. 16) — chains him to the true faith ('Syncerae fidei vincula', v. 20). This evocation of Proteus' duality in a religious context ('fides') brings the reader back to Erasmus who uses the same episode.¹²⁴ For him, Proteus' metamorphoses characterise the supremacy of the senses and passions which prevent man from seeing God: the Pharisaic 'man of flesh' is the one who drowns himself in the ritual observance of the Law; on the other hand, the human face of Proteus that only Aristaeus can unveil, is the spiritual man who can really offer a true cult to God, characterised by inwardness. Thus, it clearly presents an encouragement given to Renée of Ferrara who was imprisoned in 1554 for supporting the heretics (the words 'specus' and 'vincula' could refer to prison) to hold firmly to her theological position (superiority of the spiritual man) even if it means hiding, in Paul's manner, under the features of Proteus.¹²⁵ On the other hand, symbol 124, addressed to Marcantonio Flaminio, is explicitly part of the tradition of anti-curialist propaganda. The curse it lays on Rome-Pandora has bonds with the Rome-Babylon in Lucas Cranach's illustrations for the *September Testament* by Luther, or with Alciato's emblem 'Ficta religio'.

On the whole, we can distinguish two strategies of dissimulation. In the first place, Bocchi uses episodes from the Gospels which appear to be neutral. In fact, however, he selects meaningful motives of evangelical religion such as the opposition between the external ritual practices from Mosaic times and the hidden and spiritualist cult devoted to God in early Christianity. For example, in the text of symbol 130, the Platonic oppositions between material and spiritual, between stars and hell, are reinforced by religious antitheses like sacred versus profane, wisdom versus madness, exterior versus interior

¹²³ VII, 514 and X, 88, where the three faculties of the soul (*epithumiai, thumos and nous*) feature as the superposition of a multi-headed monster (such as the chimera, Scylla or Cerberus), of a lion and of a man.

¹²⁴ Erasmus, *Enchiridion militis christiani*.

¹²⁵ Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, L.B.-edition, vol. VII, col. 855-6, *Proesuli D. Erardo de Marca* (February 5, 1519): 'sic polypum ac charneleontem, sic Proteum ac Vertumnum quendam agit [...] in omnia se vertens [...] per cuniculos insinuat'.

man.¹²⁶ In the picture these oppositions are expressed in an iconic way by dividing Paul's words¹²⁷ between two *steles* held by two cherubes on each side of the 'Fides', after Raphael's *Poetry* in the Signature Room at the Vatican and Raimondi's engraving: on the right of 'Fides', in Latin, 'spiritus vivificat'; on her left, in Hebrew, 'littera occidit'. This spatial and linguistic opposition recalls that Paul vilified the Jews for following the Mosaic law more to the letter, than to the spirit; as a consequence of this, they had drifted into ritual practices that ignored interiority and sincerity, a danger that threatens Catholic religious practices as well. The allegory of *Fides* embodies the difference between the two attitudes. Below her feet, one can read in Greek another Paulinian quotation 'No one can lay any other foundation than the one that exists [*i.e.* Jesus Christ]'.¹²⁸ But the following part of the text, which Bocchi does not mention, specifies: 'If the work built on the foundation resists, the workers will receive a reward; if it is destroyed, they will bear its loss'. In fact, the work plastically built on the foundation base in Bocchi's engraving is not *opera* 'the works' but, indeed, Faith. And of course the importance in Reformation thought of the Paulinian concept of justification through faith, as opposed to justification through works, is well-known.¹²⁹

In the second strategy, Bocchi conceals the reformist meaning with the help of the fable and of Antiquity in general, in accordance with a long tradition that recognises in the *prisca theologia* (*i.e.* the Greek, Egyptian, Roman, and Hebrew texts) the announcement of the ministry of Christ. This may explain the regular occurrence of Hercules, the opponent of vice, of Pythagoras and his precepts, and especially of Socrates, champion of the *alêtheia*, and of the *gnôthi sauton*, who is receptive to the 'good *daimon*' or *noûs*, who mediates with the gods, and who can offer an excellent introduction to whoever wants to re-discover primordial Christian spirituality and the virtues of the interior man.¹³⁰

Often pagan texts and Christian sources develop similar motives in different emblems, creating thematic series that are bound to evangelical thought, such as the critique of the persecutions, of blind anger and hatred¹³¹

¹²⁶ See our analyse of others emblems (symbols 39, 98 and 143) in Rolet, *Les 'Symbolicae Quaestiones' d'Achille Bocchi*, IV, 128-133 and 1255-1258.

¹²⁷ 2 Corinthians, 3:5.

¹²⁸ 1 Corinthians, 1:11.

¹²⁹ Romans, 11:5-6; see also Erasmus, *Tractatus de libero arbitrio* (1524) and Camillo Renato, *Apologia* (1540).

¹³⁰ On Socrates as the precursor of Christ, see M. Ficino, *Epitome in Phaedonem*, *passim*.

¹³¹ See our analysis of symbols 29, 92, 128, 140, 150 in Rolet, *Les 'symbolicae Quaestiones' d'Achille Bocchi*, IV, 1243-1267.

or the exaltation of the heart (*cor*, *animus* or *mens*) as interior sanctuary. The most complex symbol of the *cor* is undoubtedly presented in the very famous symbol 64.¹³² Despite the numerous studies devoted to it,¹³³ as yet nobody has proposed a convincing explanation for the strange Jewish candelabrum held by Mercury in the engraving and of its relation with the Harpocratic gesture, nor has anyone offered a convincing interpretation of the whole emblem.¹³⁴ The first epigram follows Cicero who said that the real sanctuaries are in man's spirit ('mens').¹³⁵ The reference to Athena Tritonian, born from Zeus' head (*tritô*) allows Bocchi to enumerate all the meanings of *caput* (head and capital) and its paronyms ('capitolina'), but also the motif of the acropolis ('arx'), the sanctuary of the town and of the head protected by Athena, after a Platonic image.¹³⁶ It prepares the celebration of the *Mens*, an image of God and a faculty radically separated from the body, whose knowledge is recommended by the Socratic *Nosce te ipsum* and Harpocrat's apology of silence. The second epigram, partly an imitation of Hermes Trismegistus, stresses again the thematics of the radical opposition between the 'mens', which has the life of the gods, and the body, which is the slave of habits and of the senses. In our view, this Platonic opposition is to be read as the Erasmian religious opposition between the spirituality of the Christian alliance and the Phariseans' excesses due to the carnal character of the Mosaic Law.¹³⁷ true religion cannot be demonstrated by reciting a thousand prayers, but lies in the silence of the heart. The picture is larded with quotations inviting to keep silent; it furthermore depicts Mercury, usually the god of speech, as the evangelical messenger of an internal religious discourse.¹³⁸ The engraving emphasizes two complementary gestures: the finger shuts the mouth in order to hush thoughtless prayers, thus trying to impose a silent cult, while the other holds a huge lit Menorah with seven branches, inviting us to

¹³² Other symbols on the same thematic (symbols 60 and 124) are commented in Rolet, *Les 'Symbolicae Quaestiones' d'Achille Bocchi*, IV, 1207-1213 and 1236-1243.

¹³³ L. Marin, 'Notes sur une médaille et une gravure: éléments d'une étude sémiotique', *Revue d'Esthétique*, XXII, 2 (1969) 121-138; R. B. Waddington, 'The iconography of Silence and Chapman's Hercules', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 33 (1970) 248-263; B. Bowen, 'Mercury at the crossroads in Renaissance emblems', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 48 (1985) 222-229.

¹³⁴ See the complete analysis in Rolet, *Les 'Symbolicae Quaestiones' d'Achille Bocchi*, IV, 1358-1400.

¹³⁵ Cicero, *De natura deorum*, II, 79.

¹³⁶ *Timaeus*, 70a and 90a.

¹³⁷ Erasmus, *Paraphrasis to the Gospel of John* (1523) 4, 21-23.

¹³⁸ For this traditional duality, see Heraclitus, *Homeric allegories*, 72, 14-16.

view this sacred object as a symbol of interior religiosity. A passage in Origen further clarifies this scene. Man should build the tabernacle of the Mosaic arch inside himself: the golden candelabrum symbolises the gold of faith coming from the heart.¹³⁹ Its seven lit branches are the seven gifts of the Spirit mentioned by Isaiah,¹⁴⁰ connected to the Menorah, which is probably inspired by the passage in John's Apocalypse where the seven lamps near the throne represent in fact the seven forms of the *spiritus Dei*. Moreover, the candelabrum in the engraving is not according to Postel's words, the 'typical' menorah: it recalls it without being it completely. Thus, we see in it the expression of a 'typological' sign. If the candelabrum belongs to the Mosaic era, the seven gifts of Isaiah's prophecy on the other side apply to the descendant of David's kin, that is to the Messiah.¹⁴¹ The building of the interior tabernacle with the new candelabrum on which the seven gifts of the Spirit shine, is in itself the realisation of the Second Alliance, the spiritual one, that of Christ of whom Moses' tabernacle is only the symbol, the *typos*, the forerunning and material sign. The dichotomy flesh/spirit that is found in both Bocchi's text and his engraving is probably to be read in the light of Paul's letter to the Hebrews that asserts Christ's superiority over Moses and the annihilation of the First Alliance by the Second.¹⁴² For those who cannot read, the candelabrum held by the Mercury of the engraving is Moses' candelabrum. For those who can go beyond appearances, like the *spirituali*, it is a reminder that in spite of contemporary carnal manifestation of piety, everyone can respect the imperatives of the Second Law in the secrecy of his heart, a Law that abolishes the first one by making it void.

This exploration into Bocchi's *symbola* can only offer a modest view on the complex riches of the book. It may still be clear that, like Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata*, the collection of *Symbolicae quaestiones* offers an essential testimony of the plurality and intricacy of humanist learning of the first half of the sixteenth century in Italy. Addressed to dedicatees of varied social backgrounds and geographical origins, the Bocchian *symbola* elude any generic classification both because of the heterogeneity of their dimensions and their purpose. They compose a miscellany, a frontier work between poetic practices and philological commentaries, between philosophical reflection and encomiastic celebration. As they browse in allegorical mode through the

¹³⁹ Origen, *Homiliae in Exodum*, 13, 2.

¹⁴⁰ Isaiah, 11:2-3: 'spiritus sapientiae, consilii, fortitudinis, scientiae et pietatis, timoris Domini'.

¹⁴¹ Isaiah, 11:1-2.

¹⁴² See Paul, Hebrews, 9, 1-14.

texts of Greek, Latin, Hebrew Antiquity, as well as contemporary Latin writers, these emblems engage in the important sixteenth-century discussions about the soul, virtue, the City, the Prince and his duties, the Cosmos, God and true religion. Far from being a vulgar moralising breviary, they form an intellectual testament.

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How to Gild Emblems. From Mathias Holtzwardt's *Emblematum Tyrocinia* to Nicolaus Reusner's *Aureola Emblemata*

ELISABETH KLECKER AND SONJA SCHREINER*

Half a century was to pass after the Augsburg edition of Alciato's *Emblematum liber*, until, in 1581, the first genuinely German emblem books appeared almost simultaneously in Frankfurt and Strasbourg: an impressive volume of more than 200 emblems by the famous Silesian Nicolaus Reusner and a small booklet by the Alsacian Mathias Holtzwardt: *Emblematum Tyrocinia sive picta poesis Latinogermanica*.¹ The bilingualism advertised on the frontispiece found favour with modern scholars - Holtzwardt's collection was among the first emblem books to be available in a modern edition.² Among sixteenth-century readers, the *Emblematum Tyrocinia* did not fail to attract Reusner's attention who hastened to publish a remake of the whole book in 1587. Though the focus

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¹ *Emblematum Tyrocinia: sive picta poesis Latinogermanica*. das ist eingebäumete Zierwerck / oder Gemälpoesy. inhaltend allerhand GeheymnußLehre / urch Kunstfündige Gemäl angeprach / und poetisch erkläret. Jedermänniglichen / beydes zu sittlicher Besserung des Leben / und Künstlicher Arbeyt vorständig und ergetzlich durch M. Mathiam Holtzwardt. samt cyner Vorred von Vrsprung / Gebrauch und Nutz der Emblematen. Nun erstmals inn Truck komen (Strasbourg: Bernhard Jobin 1581). John Landwehr, *German Emblem Books 1531-1888: A Bibliography*, [Bibliotheca emblematica 5] (Utrecht-Leiden, 1972) no. 103. The text used here is the copy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich (L.eleg. m 450 i). For a list of the extant 19 copies: Michael Lailach, 'Der Gelehrten Symbola' - *Studien zu den Emblematum Tyrocinia von Mathias Holtzwardt (Straßburg 1581)* [Diss. Tübingen-Humboldt Uni-Berlin 2000] <<http://dochostrz.hu-berlin.de/dissertationen/lailach-michael-2000-07-05>>, 143.

² Mathias Holtzwardt (Peter von Duffel and Klaus Schmidt, eds.), *Emblematum Tyrocinia Mit einem Vorwort über Ursprung, Gebrauch und Nutz der Emblematen von Johann Fischart und 72 Holzschnitten von Tobias Stinner*, [Reclam Universal-Bibliothek 8555-57] (Stuttgart 1968). The text edited by Duffel and Schmidt is not free from misunderstandings and unnecessary corrections of the 1581-print. The text is correct in ET 5,1 'volucrisve' - 'poultry' ('volverisve' Duffel-Schmidt); in ET 34,1 'Arte carens ebur et vitali semine quondam' (Pygmalion's statue before it came to life) 'femine' is a misprint for 'semine' not for 'femina' (Duffel-Schmidt); the *inscriptio* of ET 44 'Pietati studendum ut acquisitu facili' is correct ('facilis' Duffel-Schmidt); the text must not be changed in ET 62,9 'Quae clerus memoret' - 'should bear in mind the significance of his coat of arms' ('clerum' Duffel-Schmidt).

of the following paper is on the *Emblematum Tyrocinia*, a final chapter will be devoted to Reusner's *Aureola Emblemata*, since comparison might help to bring out characteristic features of Holtzwardt's emblems and define the place of his book in the history of emblematics.

Mathias Holtzwardt (born in Harburg/Alsace around 1540)³ is primarily known for his German oeuvre mirroring the prospects typical of a writer in late sixteenth-century Southern Germany: He appealed to an urban audience of cultivated upperclass citizens on the one hand and turned to a court for patronage on the other.⁴ Since his father had served Count George of Württemberg (†1558), Mathias Holtzwardt tried to recommend himself to the count's nephew Duke Christof (1515-1568) with a lengthy epic poem. His *Lustgart Newer Deutscher Poeteri* (Strasbourg: Josias Rihel, 1568) is a gallery of classical myths and ancient history culminating in a genealogy of the House of Württemberg.⁵ Holtzwardt's bible drama *Ein schön new Spil von König Saul und dem Hirten David* performed in 1571 in Basle, served urban representation – it was a play of great length (10 acts for two performance days) which encompassed a huge number of actors.⁶

Recent research has shown that Holtzwardt was in touch with leading humanist scholars of his age: he contributed to Konrad Gessner's album amicorum,⁷ and a letter to Theodor Zwinger is extant in the University library of Basle.⁸ In the 1570s relations to Strasbourg became increasingly important: in 1573 an anonymous mock-heroic poem, *Flöh Hutz Weiber Tratz* appeared from the press of the Strasbourg publisher Bernard Jobin. Its first part, the so-called *Flohklage*, can be attributed to Mathias Holtzwardt, the continuation being due to Johann Fischart, Jobin's associate and brother-in-law, one of the most prolific writers in Germany in the sixteenth century.⁹ In the same year, Holtzwardt's hexametric translation of Burkhard Waldis, *Ursprung und Herkommen der zwölff ersten alten König und*

³ For Holtzwardt's biography see A. Merz, 'Mathias Holtzwardt. Eine literarhistorische Untersuchung', in: *Programm der Realschule zu Rappoltsweiler*, 1885, 3-31; Walter E. Schäfer, 'Holtzwardt, Mathias', in: Walther Killy (ed.), *Literatur-Lexikon. Autoren und Werke deutscher Sprache*, 5 (1990), 457; Lailach, *Der Gelehrten Symbola*, 16-19.

⁴ Erich Kleinschmidt, *Stadt und Literatur in der Frühen Neuzeit. Voraussetzung und Entfaltung im südwestdeutschen, elsässischen und schweizerischen Städteraum*, [Literatur und Leben N.F. 22] (Cologne-Vienna, 1982), 324: 'Stadt- und Hofbindung'.

⁵ An edition of the *Lustgart* is being prepared by Wolfgang Neuber, Freie Universität Berlin; a short survey of the contents is given by Merz, *Mathias Holtzwardt*, 11-31.

⁶ Kleinschmidt, *Stadt und Literatur*, 198.

⁷ Lailach, *Der Gelehrten Symbola*, 18 n. 60.

⁸ *Ibidem*, 18 n. 61.

⁹ Paul Koch, *Der Flöhaz von Johann Fischart und Mathias Holtzwardt* (Diss. Berlin, 1892).

Fürsten deutscher Nation (Nuremberg, 1543) was published by Jobin (*Elkones cum brevissimis descriptionibus duodecim primorum [...] veteris Germaniae heroum*). Besides the emblems, it is Holtzwardt's only book written in Latin.¹⁰ As does the German original, the work combines text and illustrations, sketched by Tobias Stimmer (1539 Schaffhausen - 1584)¹¹, the most important graphic artist of the later renaissance in Southern Germany.¹² It was Stimmer's cooperation with Jobin, whose eldest son became Stimmer's godson in 1570, which in the 1570s contributed to turn Strasbourg into a center of German book-art, where famous illustrated books such as Fischart's *Geschichtsklitterung* came into being.

It is obvious that emblematics as a literary-pictorial genre fitted well into Jobin's printing program. Jobin and Fischart, who added a German introduction, seem to have played a crucial role in the genesis of the *Emblematum Tyrocinia*. They may well have been among the 'viri doctissimi' who encouraged Holtzwardt to publish a collection of epigrams, as he claims in his prefatory letter. Yet, to have been urged to publish is a claim quite conventional in literary prefaces. The title playing down the quality of the poems is another tribute to literary conventions: the emblem book is said to be a work of the author's youth ('iuvenilia [...] exercitia'), 'tyrocinium' was already used metaphorically in antiquity for the first public speech of an orator,¹³ and we should remember that when Alciato's emblems appeared from the press of Christian Wechel in Paris in 1534, the publisher spoke of them as the poet's 'studiorum [...] tyrocinia'.¹⁴ The subtitle – *poesis picta latinogermanica* – alludes to another emblem book, Barthélemy Aneau's *Picta poesis* (Lyons, 1552).

If we believe the date given by the dedicatory preface, the *Emblematum Tyrocinia* were ready for publication in 1576, though they were only printed in 1581, about three years after the author's death.¹⁵ Holtzwardt dedicated his collection to Frederick Count of Württemberg and Mömpelgard / Montbéliard (1557-1608), whose patronage he seems to have sought. The print of 1581 begins with a tribute to Count George (1498-1558), the father of the dedicatee. The emblem collection itself comprises

¹⁰ for Latin verses in the *Lustgart* see n. 93 and n. 95.

¹¹ Stimmer's name is given on the title page of Reusner's *Aureola Emblemata* (n. 123).

¹² Tobias Stimmer 1539-1584. *Spätrenaissance am Oberrhein*, Kunstmuseum Basel 1984, 33-34; Lailach, *Der Gelehrten Symbola*, 27-31.

¹³ Livius, *ab urbe condita* 45,37; Suetonius, *Augustus* 26; *Tiberius* 54.

¹⁴ p. 3; reprinted in: Henry Green (ed.), *Andreae Alciati Emblematum Fontes Quatuor*; namely an account of the original collection made at Milan, 1522, and photo-lith fac-similes of the editions, Augsburg 1531, Paris 1534, and Venice 1546 (Manchester - London 1870).

¹⁵ That Holtzwardt was dead by 1581 can be concluded from the remarriage of his wife on March 3rd 1579; Lailach, *Der Gelehrten Symbola*, 18.

71 pieces, consisting of *inscriptio*, *pictura* (61x55 mm.) and Latin *subscriptio* encased in decorative borders. A German version of each emblem consisting of *inscriptio* and epigram is on the back of the page (only in ET 22, 26, 42, 50, 63 does the Latin *subscriptio* reach over to the verso-page). The Latin epigrams vary in length and metre; they are mostly in elegiac distichs, but there are also stichic hexameters (ET 48), hendecasyllables (ET 40), stichic Adonii (ET 56), Sapphic stanzas (ET 57), Asclepiads (ET 28), Glyconics alternating with Asclepiads (the so-called fourth Asclepiad, ET 38), hexameters followed by dactylic tetrameters (first Archilochian, ET 9) or by dactylic hemiepes (second Archilochian, ET 14). The German epigrams are written in doggerels, except ET 56 and 57, where the metres are adopted from the Latin poem.

Holtzwardt's opening emblem is a *captatio benevolentiae*: he pretends not to be worthy of the poet's ivy (ET 1 'Alloquitur hederam domui suae adnascentem'). The following emblems 2-71 start out with childhood and education (ET 2 'Liberos in iuventute flectendos'; ET 3 'Exemplum prioris'; ET 4 'Ingeniis se accommodare oportet'; ET 5 'Ingeniis concedendum rudioribus'; ET 6 'Quae doctum efficiant'; ET 7 'Ingenium et eloquentiam colendam'; ET 8 'Studium in faustis et adversis invictissimum'; ET 9 'Bonis moribus studendum'; ET 10 'Summa quos laus comitetur') and finish with death and the Christian hope for resurrection (ET 67 'Mortalitatem considerandam', ET 68 'Mundana gloria vana', ET 69 'Tres aetates mundi', ET 70 'Resurrectio carnis', ET 71 'Summa rerum'). Within this general outline, however, *variatio* is the dominating principle, though Holtzwardt is fond of composing cycles or pairs of emblems and obviously tries to make smooth transitions: The first section on education is followed by an emblem stressing the importance of education with the prince in particular (ET 11 'Musae corona principis'). 16-21 are about truth that cannot be concealed (ET 16 'In vino veritas'; ET 17 'Vitia animi difficulter occultantur'; ET 18 'Peccata caelari non possunt'; ET 19 'Qualis rex, talis grex'). The two following emblems deal with a special case of finding out the truth - the distinction between true and false friends (ET 20 'Verus amicus', ET 21 'Amicus fictus'). In a group of four emblems the topic is love, the first two being a rejection of impure lust in favour of matrimonial love (ET 23 'Honeste amandum', ET 24 'Quare contrahendum matrimonium'); the following contain a warning not to be blinded by beautiful appearance (ET 25 'Non ex aspectu, sed ex effectu', ET 26 'Rara concordia formae et pudicitiae'). Another topic is tranquillity offered by a retired life and independence opposed to the gilded cage (ET 27 'Domus amica domus optima', ET 28 'Qui liber vivit optime vivit'). Two emblems are dedicated to the vicissitudes of Fortune, the court is

characterised as the place where her power becomes most obvious (ET 29 'Fortunae non nimium credendum', ET 30 'Fortuna aulica'). The ideal of matrimonial harmony is illustrated by two epigrams using the device of a prosopopeia: Pygmalion's statue introduces herself (ET 34 'Uxor quae coelitus contingit optatissima') and the poet makes the wish to be buried together with his wife (ET 35 'Amor coniugalis'). The following two emblems (ET 36 'Nulla culpa poena caret', ET 37 'Ne nimis alta petas') offer mythic examples of human hybris punished. Virtue is recommended (ET 39 'Virtutem colendam', 40 'Virtus laesa magis lucet'). In the following, there are two cycles of three emblems each, about how to deal with earthly goods (ET 52 'Solus sapiens dives', ET 53 'Avarus', ET 54 'Prodigus'), the latter two being a pair, composed in strict parallelism. The following group of three emblems (ET 55 'Scorti contumacia', ET 56 'Cur Venus nuda pingatur', ET 57 'Cur Venus Vulcano nupserit') denounce the vice of lechery – the first two of which make the point of wastefulness connected with voluptas, thus alluding to the squanderer unmasked in the preceding emblem. Finally, one could regard ET 60 'Nullum gaudium dolore caret' and ET 61 'Moeroris et laetitiae fines ponendae' as belonging together, ET 60 describing the state of human affairs, ET 61 advising how to react.

Moralizing is prominent in the *Emblematum Tyrocinia*, Holtzwardt seems firmly convinced of the educational value of the genre. The emblems cover a wide range of topics quite common to popular philosophy. The advice to keep measure is a central thought: 'Ne nimis alta petas' (ET 37), a warning against human hybris, is almost in the middle of the collection. 'Nil nimium' is the lesson of 'Moeroris et laetitiae fines ponendae' (ET 61), bridling the four emotions (gaudium, spes, timor, dolor)¹⁶ should lead to metriopatheia (66,9 'Sed medium teneas - medium tenuere beati'), and a middle course is recommended by the mere juxtaposition of extremes (ET 53 'Avarus', ET 54 'Prodigus'). Holtzwardt adopts the Stoic concept that virtue is proven in adversity (ET 40 'Virtus laesa magis lucet'). In 'Solus sapiens dives' (ET 52) Holtzwardt expands on the Stoic paradoxon "Ὅτι μόνος ὁ σοφός πλοῦσιος and the *autarkeia* of the Stoic sapiens.¹⁷ Further commonplaces dealt with are the importance of selfknowledge ('Nosce te ipsum' ET 33), outward appearance as opposed to inner quality

¹⁶ This is Peripatetic doctrine cf. Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 3,22; 4,43; *De officiis* 1,89; spes, in this context, must not be seen as a cardinal virtue (Lailach, *Der Gelehrten Symbola*, 108), but as an emotion: Michael S. Armstrong, 'Hope the Deceiver': *Pseudo-Seneca De Spe* (Anth.Lat. 415 Riese 3), edited with translation, *Prolegomena and Commentary* [Spudasmata 70] (Hildesheim-Zürich-New York, 1998), 37.

¹⁷ Cicero, *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, 7.

(ET 13 'Pulchrum est laudari, praestantius esse laudabilem'), and true nobility deriving from virtue not from birth (ET 15 'Virtus summa nobilitas').

Holtzwarth's didactic attitude is displayed right in the *inscriptiones*: they are to a great extent formulated as ethic maxims appealing to the reader, in many cases in a gerund construction.¹⁸ Adages, most of them readily available in Erasmus' *Chiliades*¹⁹, proved equally suitable for the pedagogical purpose of Holtzwarth's emblems, and satire was a treasury for the moralizing emblemist. In the *Emblematum Tyrocinia* three *inscriptiones* are taken from Juvenal.²⁰ Quotes of biblical wisdom serve as *inscriptiones*, as is the case in the first actual emblem (*i.e.* no. 2), which both in the *inscriptio* 'Liberos in iuventute flectendos' and in the epigram

¹⁸ 'Liberos in iuventute flectendos' (ET 2); 'Ingeniis concedendum rudioribus' (ET 5); 'Ingenium et eloquentiam colendam' (ET 7); 'Bonis moribus studendum' (ET 9); 'Honeste amandum' (ET 23); 'Fortunae non nimium credendum' (ET 29); 'Virtutem colendam' (ET 39); 'Pietati studendum ut acquisitu facili' (ET 44); 'Subitanea felicitate non superbiendum' (ET 49); 'Moeroris et lactitiae fines ponendae' (ET 61); 'Mortalitatem considerandam' (ET 67).

¹⁹ Classical and medieval proverbs can be identified with the aid of: Eduard Margalits, *Florilegium proverbiorum universae Latinitatis*, Budapest 1895; August Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, Leipzig 1890. Hans Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi. Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung*, 9 vols., (Göttingen, 1963-1986); *TPMA. Thesaurus proverbiorum medii aevi. Lexikon der Sprichwörter des romanisch-germanischen Mittelalters. Begründet von Samuel Singer. hrsg. vom Kuratorium Singer der Schweizerischen Akademie der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften* (Berlin-New York, 1995-2001). 'Pulchrum est laudari, praestantius esse laudabilem' (ET 13) - Ps. Seneca, *De moribus* (ed. Fr. Haase, Leipzig, 1902) 38 'Bonum est non laudari velle, sed praestantius est laudabilem esse'; Walther no. 23301; 'In vino veritas' (ET 16) - Erasmus, *Adag.* 617 (Otto no. 1900); 'Qualis rex talis grex' (ET 19) - Margalits, 224; 'Domus amica domus optima' (ET 27) - *Adag.* 2238; 'Tria hominem praeoccupant' (ET 31) - Heinrich Bebel, *Proverbia Germanica* 103; 'Quattuor pervertunt animi iudicium: Amor, avaritia, odium, ebrietas'; 'Nosce teipsum' (ET 33) - *Adag.* 595; 'Ne nimis alta petas' (ET 37) - *Adag.* 596 'Nequid nimis'; 'Semper supernatant pennae' (ET 38) - Peil, *Das Sprichwort*, 138; 'Clavus clavo tunditur' (ET 41) - *Adag.* 104 'Clavum clavo pelleret' (Otto no. 396); 'Male quaesitum male dilabitur' (ET 47) - *Adag.* 682 (Otto no. 1013); 'Latent sub melle venena' (ET 51) - Ovid, *Amores* 1,8,104 (Otto nos. 1084, 1085); 'Conscientia mille testes' (ET 59) - *Adag.* 991 (Otto no. 421); 'Nullum gaudium dolore caret' (ET 60) - cf. *Adag.* 2087 'Nihil est ab omni parte beatum' (Horace, *Carmina* 2,16,27); 'Mundana gloria vana' (ET 68) - Walther nos. 10325-10326.

²⁰ 'Virtus summa nobilitas' (ET 15) - 8,20; 'Rara concordia formae et pudicitiae' (ET 26) - 10,297; 'Plus aloes quam mellis habet vita humana' (ET 32) - 6,181 (Otto no. 1083). The reference to 'vita hominis' demonstrates that Holtzwarth did not look up Juvenal, since the satirist refers to the traditional view of Eros as bitter and sweet. In contrast to that, Erasmus *Adag.* 766 attributes the line to Plautus, referring to human life as such. Holtzwarth may depend on Erasmus for the *res significans* as well: Erasmus quotes *Iliad* 24,530 on Jove's two urns (see. N. 49).

refers to Jesus Sirach 30:12 'Bow down his neck in his youth and beat his sides while he is young, lest he become stubborn and disobey you, and you have sorrow of soul from him'.²¹ In 'Honora medicum propter necessitatem' (ET 48) the reference to Jesus Sirach 38:1 'Honor the physician with the honor due to him, according to your need of him' has to be given special emphasis, since a quote from a classical author would have been at hand: *Iliad* 11,514 'A physician is worth more than several other men put together' a verse used by Achille Bocchi.²² Preoccupation with earthly affairs is denounced under the heading 'Multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi' (ET 45 'Many are called, but few are chosen' Matthew 22:14), already used as *inscriptio* by Georgette de Montenay.²³

It is the foremost task of an emblemist to visualize and exemplify his ideas: In the *Emblematum Tyrocinia* sources are chosen and handled so as to suit the didactic purpose of the collection. In several instances the moral lesson is derived from the natural world: in 'Qualis rex talis grex' (ET 19), the parrot repeats in parrot fashion what he has learned, thus being a mirror of his lord. In 'Ingratitudo summum vitium' (ET 42) the cuckoo is used as an illustration of ingratitude because he eats the warbler, his foster mother;²⁴ in 'Multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi' (ET 45) a stag that bending down its head is deaf²⁵ appeals to the reader to look up to heaven and listen to the call of God. In 'Resurrectio carnis' (ET 70), the frog that survives the winter dug up in mud and comes back to life in spring serves as a symbol of resurrection.²⁶ Fables were a favourite subject for emblemists; Holtzwardt hints at two aetiological fables,²⁷ one single fable

²¹ 'Curva cervicem eius in iuventute et tunde latera eius dum infans est ne forte induret et non credat tibi et erit tibi dolor animae' - ET 1,1 In teneris puerum flecte et sub vincula mitte / ne mox tristitiae causa sit ille tuac. cf. Vroni Mumprecht, 'biegen', *TPMA* 1 nos. 24-47.

²² Bocchi, *Symbolicae quaestiones* 5,144.

²³ Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1967) 1218.

²⁴ Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 10,26; Hans Rief and Vroni Mumprecht, 'Kuckuck', *TPMA* 7, nos. 41-43.

²⁵ Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, 8,114; Erasmus, *Adag.* 2156 'Arrectis auribus'; Michael Bath, *The Image of the Stag. Iconographic Themes in Western Art* [Saecula spiritalia 24] (Baden-Baden, 1992), 288.

²⁶ Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 9,159; the frog as a symbol of resurrection is also found in a list of hieroglyphs: Pieter Willem van der Horst, *Chaeremon. Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher. The fragments collected and translated with explanatory notes* (Leiden, 1984), fragm. 12. But Daly 80 is correct in pointing out that 'Holtzwardt employs the motif typologically [...] the frog is, then, a natural exemplification of the christian truth of resurrectio carnis'.

²⁷ The beetle destroying the eagle's eggs (Aesop 3 Hausrath; cf. Erasmus *Adag.* 360 'Scarabaeus aquilam quaerit'; Alciato 55 / 169 'A minimis quoque timendum') in 'Clavus

is told in extenso: the story of the ass as judge in the quarrel between the cuckoo and the nightingale ('Non in verbo sed in potestate', ET 46).²⁸

Moralizing interpretations are given of mythological topics: Orion warns that no sinner escapes punishment ('Nulla culpa poena caret', ET 36) and Bellerophon ('Ne nimis alta petas', ET 37) serves as an example of hybris. The moral lesson of Pygmalion's story under the caption 'Uxor quae coelitus contingit optatissima' (ET 34) can be paralleled in contemporary interpretations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.²⁹

Useful material was provided by ancient and pseudo-ancient apophthegms. Two of the Seven Sages are named: Solon comparing the courtier to pebbles used as a reckoning device (ET 30)³⁰ and Bias recommending the constant use of the mirror, to the end that handsome men might acquire a corresponding behaviour and ugly men conceal their defects by education (ET 9).³¹ Philip of Macedonia provided an impressive example of how to remember death in prosperity ('Mortalitatem considerandum', ET 67): after the victory at Chaironea he ordered a boyslave to shout 'Philip, you are mortal' three times every morning.³² Furthermore, Holtzwardt made use of the so-called *Altercatio Hadriani et Epicteti*, a collection of apophthegmata and (quasi-) definitions, which was highly popular in the Middle Ages and went through several editions in the sixteenth century.³³ It is indeed one of Holtzwardt's most important sources, giving the model for five emblems. 'Honeste amandum' (ET 23) starts off

clavo tunditur' (ET 41.8); the turtle being late at Jove's wedding (Aesop 108 Hausrath) in 'Domus amica domus optima' (ET 27).

²⁸ Gerd Dicke and Klaus Grubmüller, *Die Fabeln des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit. Ein Katalog der deutschen Versionen und ihrer lateinischen Entsprechungen* [Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 60] (Munich, 1987) no. 113; the fable is included in Joachim Camerarius, *Fabulae Aesopicae* (Lipsiae, 1564) 313 'Asinus iudex'.

²⁹ Cf. Georgius Sabinus (following Melanchthon): 'Fabula autem docet castam et pudicam uxorem a Deo dari et petendam esse'; Annegret Dinter, *Der Pygmalionstoff in der europäischen Literatur. Rezeptionsgeschichte einer Ovid-Fabel* (Heidelberg, 1977) 49-50; Andreas Blüm, *Pygmalion. Die Ikonographie eines Künstlermythos zwischen 1500 und 1900* [Europäische Hochschulschriften XXVIII 90] (Frankfurt on the Main, 1988) 45-49; 179.

³⁰ Diogenes Laertius, *Solon* 59; *Solon. Testimonia veterum collegit Antonius Martina* (Rome, 1968) test. 168.

³¹ Maria Tziatzi-Papagianni, *Die Sprüche der sieben Weisen. Zwei byzantinische Sammlungen. Einleitung, Text, Testimonien und Kommentar* [Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 51] (Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1994) 220-221.

³² Aelian, *Varia historia* 8,15.

³³ *Altercatio Hadriani Augusti et Epicteti philosophi*, by Lloyd William Daly and Walther Suchier [Illinois Studies in language and literature 24, 1-2] (Urbana, 1939).

as a scolding of Cupid, taking over periphrastic definitions of love given in the *Altercatio*.³⁴

Heus, caece insultans homini sine fine Cupido,
Qui pueris pudor es, virginibusque rubor,
In muliere furor gravis, in iuvene ardor et ignis,
Ludibrio plebi qui facis esse senes.³⁵

The question-and-answer form of the *Altercatio* was easily turned into an emblem, as is the case in two further emblems devoted to the topic of love: 'Cur Venus Vulcano nupserit' (ET 57) pointing to the fire of passion,³⁶ and 'Cur Venus nuda pingatur' (ET 56) playing on the metaphorical value of 'nudus' - the lover is stripped of his wealth and his wits.³⁷ Another pair of emblems designed on the *Altercatio* is 'Verus amicus' (ET 20) and 'Amicus fictus' (ET 21): the reliable friend is likened to a colossus of brass defying lightning and thunderstorm;³⁸ the false friend is compared to the fruit of the citrus-tree, 'for inside he conceals a heart bitter with malice'.³⁹

Holtzwardt was fond of proverbial imagery.⁴⁰ In 'Conscientia mille testes' (ET 59) the effects of a guilty conscience are illustrated by a popular simile for a useless flight: a dog driven mad by a pig's bladder filled with peas and tied to its tail.⁴¹ 'Peccata caelari non possunt' (ET 18) ends up

³⁴ *Altercatio* 59 'Quid est amor? Otiosi pectoris molestia, in puero pudor, in virgine rubor, in femina furor, in iuvene ardor, in sene risus'.

³⁵ 'Oh, blind Cupid, you are playing games with man without end; to boys you are a source of shame, girls blush; in women you are strong passion, in men burning desire; old men you hold up to ridicule before people'.

³⁶ *Altercatio* 57 'Quare Venus Vulcano nupta est? Ostendit amorem ardore incendi'; cf. Ps. Seneca, *Octavia*, 560.

³⁷ *Altercatio* 56 'Quare Venus nuda pingitur? Nuda Venus picta, nudi pinguntur amores / quibus nuda placet nudos dimittat oportet'.

³⁸ *Altercatio* 71 'Quid sunt amici? statute (sic) aere'.

³⁹ *Altercatio* 72 'Quid est amicus? Ut pomo citreo similis: a foris beatus nam intra pectus acidum occultat malum'.

⁴⁰ Dietmar Peil, 'Das Sprichwort in den Emblemata Tyrocinia des Mathias Holtzwardt (1581)', in: Walter Haug and Burghart Wachinger (ed.), *Kleinstformen der Literatur* (Tübingen, 1994) 132-164. Peil is concentrating on German proverbs. As far as the Latin *inscriptiones* are concerned, it seems suitable to use the contemporary term 'adagium' comprising proverbs as well as sententious quotes from classical authors. The point of reference should be Erasmus, not Wander ('Nur was im Wander steht, ist auch ein Sprichwort', Peil 135).

⁴¹ Vroni Mumprecht, 'Blase', *TPMA* 2, nos. 11-16.

with the proverb on the eyes of the field and ears of the woods⁴²; in 'Pietati studendum ut acquisitu facili' (ET 44) piety is compared to fire as most important for cooking⁴³; in 'Scorti contumacia' (ET 55) the washing of a brick⁴⁴ is used to illustrate the lover's idle efforts of trying to win a prostitute with pleas rather than with presents.

As is obvious from this survey of topics and sources, Holtzwardt's emblems are quite conventional in many respects. His primary achievement may be seen in the specifically Christian orientation of the collection, moving from education to resurrection. The emblem book is meant to provide the reader with an aid for reaching his final aim, giving an outline of Christian ethics, and though Holtzwardt is not following the seven ages of man, the number of 70 (= ET 2-71) seems to be chosen symbolically, signifying a life-span according to ancient doctrine.⁴⁵ The recurring themes of mortality and the frailty of human existence as well as the portrayal of vices and contemporary decay should lead the reader to reject worldly ambitions and to put his faith in true happiness in the next world.

Holtzwardt and the Emblematic Tradition

In his *Vorred* Fischart gives the names of several authors who composed 'ware Emblemata nach rechter Art'. The list comprises collections of devices (Paolo Giovio, Claude Paradin, Gabriele Symeoni) and hieroglyphs (Celio Calcagnini, Alessandro Cittolini, Pierio Valeriano) as well as emblem books proper: Andrea Alciato and his translator Jeremias Held, Barthélemy Aneau, Achille Bocchi, Pierre Coustau (Costalius), Adriaan de Jonghe (Junius), Guillaume de la Perrière, János Zsámboky (Sambucus). Holtzwardt was familiar with at least some of the later emblematisers named by Fischart, though verbal references are missing. Guillaume de La Perrière⁴⁶ as well as Achille Bocchi had recommended the pedagogic use of the mirror (cf. ET 9), the latter by referring to Socrates.⁴⁷ Bocchi seems to have been the first to use the contest between the cuckoo and the

⁴² Manfred Bambeck, *Das Sprichwort im Bild. Der Wald hat Ohren, das Feld hat Augen. Zu einer Zeichnung von Hieronymus Bosch* [Akad. der Wiss. und der Lit. Mainz, Abh. der geistes- und sozialwiss. Klasse 1987/10] (Wiesbaden-Stuttgart, 1987).

⁴³ Vroni Mumprecht, 'Feuer', *TPMA* 3 nos. 103-112.

⁴⁴ Cf. Erasmus, *Adag.* 348.

⁴⁵ On the division of human life in hebdomades according to Solon, see Censorinus, *De die natali* 14,7.

⁴⁶ La Perrière, *Theatre*, Henkel-Schöne, *Emblemata*, 1346.

⁴⁷ 2,59; cf. e.g. Diogenes Laertius 2,33; cf. Tziatzi-Papagianni, *Die Sprüche der sieben Weisen*, 221.

nightingale (ET 46).⁴⁸ Another subject turned into an emblem by Bocchi and subsequently by Holtzwardt ('Plus aloes quam mellis habet vita humana', ET 32) are the two urns (one filled with evils and one with blessings) at the entrance of Jove's palace which determine human fate (*Iliad* 24,527).⁴⁹ Bocchi, however, sticks to the Homeric model by making the mixture of good and evil his main idea, whereas Holtzwardt is even more pessimistic, by giving a description of the two vessels (imagined as barrels by Stimmer): the urn on the left containing evils is leaky so that misfortune can get out at any time, the urn on the right containing goods is closed and only seldom opened by Jove.⁵⁰ The comparison of the courtier with pebbles employed in calculations (ET 30 'Fortuna aulica') had already been used by Pierre Coustau.⁵¹ Coustau, however, did not hint at the ancient sources, neither in the epigram nor in the following *narratio philosophica*, whereas Holtzwardt refers to Solon.

Without doubt, Holtzwardt is greatly indebted to Alciato, even if direct imitation cannot easily be proven. Since Alciato's emblems were organized thematically from 1548 onwards, it can be assumed that Holtzwardt's ascending pattern is meant to oppose the arrangement from 'Deus sive religio' descending to the series of trees. Paradoxically, Alciato's influence is prominent in the *Lustgart*, where, in book two, Holtzwardt describes a statue of Bacchus and a carved picture of Opportunity.⁵² His descriptions are modelled on two ecphrastic emblems – 'In statuam Bacchi dialogismus' (25/67), 'In Occasionem' (122/17) – in the question-and-answer form which was easily transferred to the dialogue between the poet and his Muse.

In the *Emblematum Tyrocinia* references to Alciato are less obvious though Holtzwardt exploits literary conventions established by the ancestor of emblematics, both in *inscriptio* and epigram: Holtzwardt refers to works

⁴⁸ 'Iudex ineptus peste peior pessima, Coccygis et lusciniac contentio. Offensio aspera ex inepto iudice' (*Symbolicae quaestiones*, 3,90).

⁴⁹ 'Medio de fonte leporum surgit amarum aliquid. Comes voluptatis dolor' (*Symbolicae quaestiones* 1,8). On the emblematic tradition of the two τριβοι: Dora and Erwin Panofsky, *Pandora's Box: The Changing Aspects of a Mythical Symbol* (New York, 1962²) 49-52.

⁵⁰ Holtzwardt may have thought of the evils flying out of Pandora's opened box and he may have had in mind the Platonic image of the leaky jar (*Gorgias* 493d). A very similar point is made in Babrios 184: Evils come to men one after another, since they are close at hand, but good things slowly, since they must descend from heaven.

⁵¹ 'In aulicos', *Pegma* p. 215. For Coustau and Holtzwardt see Wolfgang Harms, Gilbert Heß and Dietmar Peil, *SinnbilderWelten. Emblematische Medien in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich 11.8.-1.10.1999 (Munich, 1999) nos. 140 and 142.

⁵² F. 41r; f. 43r. – For Alciato's emblems the number of the Thuilii edition (<http://www.mun.c/alcia/>) is given followed by the editio princeps. The Memorial Web edition has been used for English translations as well.

of art ('Cur Venus nuda pingatur', ET 56), he describes a hieroglyph (ET 63), a coat of arms ('Insignia clerici', ET 62), the question-and-answer form being inspired by Alciato who used it in several epigrams taken from the *Greek Anthology*.⁵³ For the *res significans* Holtzwardt draws on the same sources as Alciato: metaphorical proverbs, natural history, as well as allegorical explanations of myths: Homer's Circe, in the tradition of the ancient interpretation of the Odyssey, is described as a prostitute making lovers degenerate to beasts ('Rara concordia formae et pudicitiae', ET 26; 'Cavendum a meretricibus', Alciato 76).⁵⁴

As for the *inscriptiones*, Holtzwardt's predilection for gerunds clearly stems from Alciato;⁵⁵ proverbs are found in Alciato's collection, albeit less frequently than in the *Emblematum Tyrocinia*.⁵⁶ For three emblems (ET 47, 63, 65) Holtzwardt even adopts *inscriptiones* from the *Emblematum libellus* (129; 136; 178/46, 179/20): In Alciato's emblem 'Strenuorum immortale esse nomen' the tomb of Achilles decorated with amaranth symbolises the hero's immortal glory, whereas Holtzwardt used the same motto to picture Virtue rising up to heaven (ET 65). His *inscriptio* 'Ex bello pax, ex pace ubertas' ('From war, peace, from peace, plenty' ET 63) obviously combines - though with a new, hieroglyphic subject - Alciato's 'Ex bello pax' (a helmet in which bees build honeycombs) with 'Ex pace ubertas' (an incubating kingfisher), which in the later, thematically ordered editions follow one right after the other (178, 179). Holtzwardt's *res significans* described in the question-and-answer technique presents an altar supporting a sword around which a snake entwines itself; olive branches are growing out from the sword and at its top there is a cornucopia towards which bees are flying. Holtzwardt's emblem is reminiscent of a similar hieroglyphic composition in Alciato: In 'Virtuti Fortuna comes' (19/119) a caduceus crowned by the winged hat of Mercury encircled by snakes between the horns of Amalthea is intended to signify that 'a great abundance of things blesses men who are strong of mind and skilled in speaking' (v. 3/4). As does Alciato's, Holtzwardt's emblem applies to men of letters: the altar signifies that learned men should rely on a firm basis (7 'Fundamine firmo / docti ut nitantur, denotat ara tibi'). In contrast to Alciato, however, instead of eloquence stress is laid on discretion as required for a 'scriba', i.e. the secretary position (as *scriba ordinarius*) which Holtzwardt himself held in

⁵³ Alison Saunders, 'Alciati and the Greek Anthology', in: *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 12 (1982) 1-18.

⁵⁴ Erich Kaiser, 'Odysseeszenen als Topoi', *Museum Helveticum* 21 (1964) 109-136; 197-224; 201-203.

⁵⁵ 9; 10; 14; 18; 19; 22; 26; 28; 34; 37; 39; 43; 54; 84; 89; 165; 138; 166; 182.

⁵⁶ Peil, *Das Sprichwort*, 144.

the 1570s in the municipal administration of Rappoltsweiler (Ribeauvillé), the capital of the county of Rappoltstein:

Serpens designat tacitos mentemque sagacem:

Has dotes scribam semper habere decet (ll. 11-12).⁵⁷

In proceeding from the general 'docti' to 'scriba', the *scriba ordinarius* Holtzwardt seems to suggest that he intended 'Ex bello pax, ex pace ubertas' to be his personal emblem – as 'Virtuti Fortuna comes' was interpreted as Alciato's by Giovio.⁵⁸

There are several parallels between Holtzwardt and Alciato as far as topics are concerned. In devoting an emblem to the flatterer ('Assentator' ET 64) Holtzwardt obviously recalled Alciato 'In adultores' (53/87): he exchanged the *res significans*, but seems to have kept to the same ancient source, Plutarch's treatise *Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur* ('How to tell a flatterer from a friend'). While Alciato exploited the comparison with the chameleon, which can assume any colour except white and red (symbolizing truthfulness and shame),⁵⁹ Holtzwardt preferred the previous simile of the flatterer with the octopus: The flatterer is nowhere constant and has no character of his own, like the octopus which takes on the colour of his environment.⁶⁰ Both animals are included in Erasmus' *Adagia*, though only the chameleon has a negative connotation (2301 'Chamaeleonte mutabilior', 'More variable than a chameleon'), whereas it is argued that the adaptability of the octopus should be imitated (93 'Polypi mentem obtine', 'Get the faculty of the polypus'). Moreover, a possible negative interpretation is even explicitly banned, the octopus is not meant to advocate flattery. Erasmus' influence is obvious in Sambucus' emblem 'Dum potes, vive' where the octopus' colouring is described as a stratagem of survival.⁶¹ In Holtzwardt's, on the contrary, it is seen as a hunting trick to catch its prey.

Similarly, 'Subitanea felicitate non superbiendum' (ET 49) can be interpreted as a variation on Alciato's emblem 'In momentaneam foelicitatem' (125/68): Alciato had summarized the fable of the fast-

⁵⁷ 'The serpent means discretion and an astute mind; these gifts a scribe should always have'.

⁵⁸ Maria Antonietta de Angelis, *Gli emblemi di Andrea Alciato nella edizione Steyner del 1531. Fonti e simbologie* (Salerno, 1984), 115.

⁵⁹ Plutarch, *Moralia* 53 D; De Angelis, *Gli emblemi di Andrea Alciato*, 284.

⁶⁰ Plutarch, *Moralia* 52 F.

⁶¹ Henkel-Schöne, *Emblemata*, 702.

growing gourd and the pine tree.⁶² Holtzwardt, on the other hand, illustrates the same idea with the cicada, which, much like the pumpkin, disappears in winter. Even if the ant as the positive counterpart is not explicitly named, it need not be argued that Aesop's famous fable (114 Hausrath; Babrios 140) was Holtzwardt's source of inspiration. Yet, to allow parallelism to Alciato the lesson is somewhat different: the cicada is not intended as an example of laziness punished, but rather as a warning against hybris generated by prosperity. The animal's dependence on sun and warmth serves as a reminder of fortune's instability conventionally paralleled by the changing seasons.

In other emblems we see Holtzwardt in deliberate contrast to Alciato: A striking example for Holtzwardt's different treatment of an Alciato subject is his emblem on Bellerophon. In 'Consilio et virtute Chimaeran superari id est fortiores et deceptores' (14/101) Alciato focused on the defeat of the monster and Bellerophon's ride on the winged horse Pegasus symbolizing the superiority of intellect. In Holtzwardt's emblem 'Ne nimis alta petas' (ET 37) the story is continued to the hero's fall who is condemned for pride and arrogance.⁶³

Cupid frequently forms the theme of emblems in Alciato's collection, in Holtzwardt's the contrast between lechery and marital love is equally prominent. In his epigram 'In statuam Amoris' (96/114), Alciato after enumerating supposedly erroneous concepts of Amor ventures a definition himself: v. 31 'Amor iucundus labor est lasciva per otia' ('delightful labour in lascivious dalliance'), somehow echoing a Greek saying attributed to Theophrastus as well as Diogenes, who called love 'the business of the idle'.⁶⁴ A Latin version is included in the above mentioned *Altercatio Hadriani et Epicteti* as the first of several definitions of love,⁶⁵ which make their appearance in Holtzwardt's *apopompe* of impure desire ('Honeste amandum', ET 23).

In his emblem 'In vitam humanam' (152/95) Alciato introduced Heraclitus and Democritus as types of the pessimist and optimist (following a Greek epigram; *Anthologia Palatina* 9,148), asking whether laughter or tears were more appropriate confronting the incredible viciousness witnessed in the author's days. In the ancient sources laughter and crying is seen as the philosophers' reaction towards the faults of mankind, Holtzwardt,

⁶² Dicke-Grubmüller, *Die Fabeln des Mittelalters*, no. 369. De Angelis, *Gli emblemi di Andrea Alciato*, 243.

⁶³ Cf. for instance Horace, *Carmina*, 4,11,26.

⁶⁴ Diogenes Laertius, 6,51; Stobaeus, *Florilegium* 64,29. A very similar motto occurs in Bocchi: 'Amor negotiosus est in otio' (*Symbolicae quaestiones*, 1,7).

⁶⁵ *Altercatio* 58 'otiosi pectoris molestia'; for the ancient parallels see Daly, *Altercatio*, 90.

on the other hand, in 'Moeroris et laetitiae fines ponendae' (ET 61) criticises both philosophers for lack of measure and condemns them for excessive and unphilosophical indulging in emotions.⁶⁶

In order to specify the Holtzwardt–Alciato relationship it is interesting to see how Holtzwardt made use of the Greek Anthology, Alciato's most important source, which had provided nearly one third of the 104 emblems in the *editio princeps*. Holtzwardt's emblem 'Plorando nascimur, plorando morimur' (ET 22) is a *memento mori* culminating in a distich of biblical inspiration (Job 1:21; cf. Ecclesiastes 5:14).

Nudus es egressus ventrem, mox viscera terrae

Nudus inopsque fugax insuper umbra premes (ll.11-12).⁶⁷

Besides the scripture, Holtzwardt most certainly had in mind a Greek epigram by Palladas,⁶⁸ since as his motto he translated the opening line of a tetrastichon by the same author ('In tears we are born, in tears we die').⁶⁹ It may be worth noting that Holtzwardt adapted two epigrams of admonitory character, which lent themselves to open moralizing, whereas Alciato had preferred declamatory pieces. Although Alciato had composed translations of both poems, included in Janus Cornarius' *Selecta epigrammata Graeca Latine versa* (Basle: J. Bebel 1529), he did not select them for his collection of emblems.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ For an interpretation of Alciato's epigram see Johannes Köhler, *Der 'Emblematum liber' von Andreas Alciato (1492–1550). Eine Untersuchung zur Entstehung, Formung antiker Quellen und pädagogischen Wirkung im 16. Jahrhundert* [Beiträge zur historischen Bildungsforschung 3] (Hildesheim, 1986) 37–41; for further variations of the theme see Andreas Brandtner, 'Das Demokrit-Heraklit-Thema in der Frühen Neuzeit. Rezeptions- und wirkungsgeschichtliche Skizze der Repräsentation in Text und Bild', in: *Frühneuzeit-Info* 2,2 (1991) 51–62; August Buck, 'Democritus ridens et Heraclitus flens', in: *Die humanistische Tradition in der Romania* (Bad Homburg-Berlin-Zürich, 1968) 101–117 does not mention Alciato and Holtzwardt; Holtzwardt's attitude seems to be paralleled by Pierre de la Primaudaye as quoted by Buck 114.

⁶⁷ 'Naked you came out of the womb, soon you will burden the entrails of the earth naked, destitute and a fugitive shade'.

⁶⁸ *Anthologia Palatina*, 10,58,1 Γῆς ἐπέβην γυμνός θ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν ἄπειμι.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, 10,84,1 Δακρυχέων γενόμην καὶ δακρύσας ἀποθνήσκω.

⁷⁰ Saunders, 'Alciati and the Greek Anthology', 5. For further imitations see James Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy to the Year 1800* [Cornell Studies in English 23] (Ithaca, New York, 1935) 580, 583; James Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France and the Latin Writers of the Netherlands to the Year 1800* [Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 28] (Ithaca, New York, 1946) 737, 740. Both epigrams were included in a contemporary commonplace-book: Bartholomaeus Amantius Landspergianus, *Flores celebriorum sententiarum Graecarum ac Latinarum* (Dillingen, 1556) 461 and 466. Contrary to Saunders, 'Alciati and the Greek Anthology', 8 there is no doubt that the lack of a visual element was decisive.

Though we should not make too much of this detail, it may seem symptomatic for Holtzwardt's approach to emblem poetry. For Alciato an emblem is a special kind of epigram: 'an epigram in which something is described, so that it signifies something else'.⁷¹ Alciato is clearly thinking of the epigrams of the *Greek Anthology* often featuring real or described pictures, the interpretation of which leads to a moral precept, general insight or surprising conceit. That Holtzwardt must have been aware of this allegorical method is obvious from the emblems he singled out for use in his *Lustgart*. In the *Emblematum Tyrocinia* a great deal of Holtzwardt's epigrams conform to Alciato's definition, though his practice of incorporating a visual element is followed with less consequence than we might expect when considering the genesis of Holtzwardt's collection: if the preface is to be trusted, the *Emblematum Tyrocinia* must have come into being as 'nude' emblems with but a rather vague hope for pictures.⁷²

The difference between Holtzwardt and Alciato cannot be overlooked when we compare emblems dealing with identical subjects. Avarice is denounced by both authors. Both presuppose that misers suffer from their vice, since they do not allow themselves anything and live as if they were bitterly poor: Tantalus ('Avaritia' 85) and an ass ('In avaros' 86/202), which, though packed with food, feeds on thistles provided Alciato with appropriate images. Holtzwardt has designed his emblem ('Avarus' ET 53) as a prosopopeia of the stingy man who confesses that he would gnaw at bones even if he possessed the whole world. It is a lively portrait, but in contrast to Alciato, there is no comparison from myth or animal life. Similarly, the proverb 'Ill gotten, ill spent' was elucidated with a fable by Alciato: a kite regurgitates intestines ('Male parta male dilabuntur' 129).⁷³ Holtzwardt's emblem 'Male quacsitum male dilabitur' (ET 47) is a sermon in nuce:

Quid prodest homini totum sibi subdere mundum,
Huic requiem aeternam si Deus ipse neget.
Tutius est igitur, rebus se tradere sanctis
Improba quam mundi concumulare bona.
Quidquid enim iniuste quaesitum est, dira rapaci

⁷¹ Hessel Miedema, 'The Term 'emblem' in Alciati', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 31 (1968) 234-250; 238; 241.

⁷² 6, 10, 12, 16, 22, 23, 24, 33, 35, 39, 50, 52, 53, 54, 58, 60, 66, 68, 69, 71.

⁷³ Cf. Aesop, 47 [Hausrath] about a child vomiting intestines; cf. Babrios, 34.

Eumenis ungue aufert, ventus et aura rapit.⁷⁴

Holtzwardt's focus is on the loss of eternal life by alluding to Matthew 16:26; he advises his readers to lay up riches in heaven instead of amassing earthly goods (Matthew 6:19-21), the Eumenid and the wind replacing moths, rust and thieves mentioned in the gospel. Once more, in contrast to Alciati, there is no *res significans*.⁷⁵ Stimmer who was quite familiar with emblematic illustration, as can be seen from his paintings on the façade of the house *Zum Ritter* in Schaffhausen, modelled on Alciato woodcuts by Virgil Solis,⁷⁶ evidently realized the 'unemblematic' character of the epigram. Though the goddess of vengeance tearing away all illegally acquired goods could have made a good picture, he preferred orienting himself on one of Alciato's most famous emblems, 'Paupertatem summis ingeniis obesse ne provehantur' ('Poverty hinders the greatest talents from advancing' 121/16) showing a figure with one winged hand upraised and the other weighed down with a stone. Stimmer's figure has wings on both hands but is being held back to earth by a sack of money bound to his feet.⁷⁷

It goes without saying that for Holtzwardt's more abstract epigrams there was a need for creativity and inventiveness on Stimmer's part: 'Nosce te ipsum' (ET 33) is conveniently illustrated by the Aesopian fable of the two wallets of man.⁷⁸ For 'Solus sapiens dives' (ET 52) Stimmer has chosen a scene from Roman history - M'. Curius Dentatus pointing at his supper of turnips while envoys of the Samnites try to bribe him; Cicero had referred

⁷⁴ 'What will it profit a man to subjugate the whole world, if God himself refuses to grant him eternal peace. Therefore it is much safer to devote oneself to holy things than to accumulate evil worldly goods. For whatever is acquired unjustly, the dire Eumenid takes away with her rapacious claw, wind and breeze tear it away'.

⁷⁵ We may compare Achille Bocchi's emblem 'Male parva male dilabier. De avaro et eius exitu' (*Symbolicae quaestiones* 2, 47). In the *pictura* the rich clinging to his moneybag is dragged to hell by a devil.

⁷⁶ Dieter Koepplin, 'Ausgeführte und entworfene Hausfassadenmalereien von Holbein, Stimmer und Bock - Kunsthybris mit dem erhobenen Zeigefinger', in: *Tobias Stimmer*, 54 and 65.

⁷⁷ In other emblems as well, we see Stimmer relying on iconographic traditions he was familiar with. In ET 7 Stimmer shows a fool pulling a log together with an ass - most certainly thinking of Sebastian Brant's famous Ship of Fools (Lailach, *Der Gelehrten Symbola*, 6,1). The *pictura* to ET 22 is based on another genre conventionally combining text and illustration: In making death with the hourglass confront a female figure, Stimmer takes over a motive of the dances of death so popular in the sixteenth century. Holtzwardt's epigram, however, does not refer to such a specific scene, neither does it contain the *prosopopeia* typical of the genre.

⁷⁸ Aesop 229 [Hausrath].

to Curius in discussing the Stoic paradox.⁷⁹ Stimmer's illustration to 'Nusquam tuta fides' (ET 58) has undoubtedly turned out very well showing the transposition of a boundary stone and a fowler in the background. Nevertheless, we should not overlook the fact that the rural scenery is the only reference to Holtzwardt's text, the lack of a visual element in the epigram being the necessary reason for a certain arbitrariness in the illustration.

Though the loose bond between epigram and *pictura* could not escape scholarly attention, the invention of the icons was ascribed to Holtzwardt himself.⁸⁰ In fact scholars were quite optimistic in assuming that the production of the *picturae* could be supervised by the emblem writer⁸¹. In the case of the *Emblematum Tyrocinia*, it is particularly tempting to imagine a close cooperation, since both the author and the artist belonged to the same circle around Jobin. Yet, the evidence of the *picturae* themselves is quite disillusioning: they are sometimes remarkably independent of the textual parts. What is most surprising is the fact that Stimmer does not make use of potentially 'emblematic' elements in Holtzwardt's epigrams: In 'Scorti contumacia' (ET 55) Stimmer could have used Holtzwardt's proverbial opening ('Qui laterem lavat'). Instead, he introduces a devil leading the prostitute to hell. In several emblems Stimmer seems to have preferred illustrious men to visual elements offered in Holtzwardt's epigrams.⁸² In 'Quibus res maximae perficiantur' ('How to accomplish great things' ET 14), Holtzwardt points to the importance of bravery, method and judgement ('animo forti et ratione / consilioque bono'); the following simile, however, is illustrating the need for self-control and self-restraint: a tree that has not been cut back does not bear

⁷⁹ *Paradoxa Stoicorum* 7,48.

⁸⁰ Holger Homann, *Studien zur Emblematik des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Sebastian Brant, Andrea Alciati, Johannes Sambucus, Mathias Holtzwardt, Nicolaus Taurellus (Utrecht, 1971), 91; Düffel - Schmidt 230; Homann, *Studien*, 93-94 seems to assume that Holtzwardt was led by the idea of emblematic economy as advocated by baroque (and modern) theory and intentionally refrained from giving a description of the *pictura*.

⁸¹ Peter M. Daly, *Emblem Theory. Recent German Contribution to the Characterization of the Emblem Genre* [Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 9] (Nendeln, 1979), 30 and 89.

⁸² In 'Virtus summa nobilitas' (ET 15) Stimmer seems to portray Marius among the ruins of Carthago: Marius's flight from Rome in 88 B.C. and his exile in the neighbourhood of Carthage was a commonplace in discussions of the vicissitudes of Fortune (cf. Manilius 4,46). On the other hand the homo novus Marius may stand as an example for 'Virtus summa nobilitas' according to his speech in Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthinum* 85,17 'ex virtute nobilitas (coepit)'. In 'Moeroris et lacticiae fines ponendae' (ET 61) the *pictura* shows the death of Aeschylus, exploiting the familiar story of the eagle dropping a turtle upon his head: Robert J. Clements, *Picta poesis. Literary and Humanistic Theory in Renaissance Emblem Books* [Termini e testi 6] (Rome, 1960) 153-155.

fruit. The artist (or his adviser) rightly felt the need for a threefold *res significans* and decided to picture Cicero with sword, book and bridle.

On closer inspection, divergences can even be detected in illustrations which at first sight seem to be in accordance with Holtzwardt's epigrams. In confronting the octopus and the fisher, Stimmer's *pictura* (ET 64) illustrates the protective function of the colouring rather than the deception of the prey stressed by Holtzwardt. Thus, it seems a quite perfect visualization of Erasmus's adagium 93 'Polypi mentem obtine'.⁸³ The *pictura* to 'In vino veritas' (ET 16) at first sight seems quite innocent: Bacchus is leaning against a barrel. But the female figure with book, torch and laurel wreath should attract our attention: instead of highlighting the negative consequences of drunkenness Stimmer pointed to poetic inspiration.⁸⁴

Though it is undisputed that the *Emblematum Tyrocinia* owe a great deal of their charm to the icons, we should concentrate on the texts to judge Holtzwardt's qualities and aims as an emblem writer. Due to the lack of a *res significans* almost one third of his epigrams could not be classified as emblems without Stimmer's woodcuts outside the emblem book. Emblem poetry, it is true, became increasingly flexible in the second half of the sixteenth century, and emblems built around abstract concepts are found in most collections. Nevertheless Holtzwardt's lack of interest in the visualization of his ethic precepts should not be neglected: For Alciato the intellectual play consisted primarily in the visual element, in Holtzwardt's collection erudite playfulness is giving way to austere moralizing. Thus, within the collection, the absence of a *res significans* may even underline a poem's message: After illustrating the hope for bodily resurrection by a frog's hibernation (ET 70), Holtzwardt's book ends up in a prayer (ET 71) devoid of a *res significans*. Yet, emblematic metaphors and similes are no longer needed, where Divinity is no longer seen like the dim image in a mirror but face to face (1 Corinthians 13:12):

Ille locus semper felix erit atque beatus,
 Quo dabitur nobis ora videre Dei.
 In mundo quoniam requies est nulla laborum
 Immundo, ut sacri nos docuere Patres.

⁸³ A far better illustration to Holtzwardt's text can be found in Johann Fischart, *Das Philosophisch Ehezuchtbüchlein*, in: *Johann Fischarts Werke* III, ed. Adolf Hauffen, Deutsche National-Litteratur 18,3 (Berlin, s.a.; reprint Tokyo-Tübingen, 1974) 263: a woodcut (possibly sketched by Stimmer, LXI) shows the treacherous hunt of the octopus, being a picture of the falseness of women.

⁸⁴ The figure is interpreted as Veritas by Lailach, *Der Gelehrten Symbola*, 72.

Ut nos perducas illuc hoc orbe relicto,
Ore animoque pio, Christe benigne, precor.⁸⁵

To conclude, instances of artistic *aemulatio* are rare, though they are not completely absent from Holtzwardt's collection. The author's relation to Alciato and the emblematic tradition is primarily characterized by a certain moral rigorism in keeping with the pedagogical purpose of the *Emblematum Tyrocinia*.

Poesis latinogermanica: The German Emblems

Alciato's emblems had been translated into German as early as 1542⁸⁶; a second translation by Jeremia Held appeared in 1566. Bilingual emblem books were particularly popular in France.⁸⁷ Of all these vernacular versions it is characteristic that they deal very freely with the Latin original. This holds equally true for the German pieces of the *Emblematum Tyrocinia*.

First of all, it may be observed that the tendency in the German emblems is slightly more clearly moralizing than in the Latin ones. This is evident in some additional complaints about the present, e.g. at the end of 'Ein Wahrer freundt' (ET 20): v.16 'Man findt ihr aber wenig nun' echoing the opening exclamation v.1 'Ein wahrer freund (ia wer den findt / Auff diser Erd)'. Correspondingly, the German emblems are of a more appellative character: In 'Amicus fictus' (ET 21) the Latin epigram only gives a description of a false friend, the German *subscriptio* starts out with an urgent warning:

Vor allem ding auff dieser Erd
hüt dich das falsche freundschaftt wird
Dir nicht zu theil da sich dich für
Dan sie höchlich möchte schaden dir.

⁸⁵ 'That place will always be happy and blessed, where we will be allowed to see the face of God. For there is no end of labours in this impure world, as the holy fathers taught us. That you may lead us thither after leaving this world, I pray to you with pious mouth and heart, gracious Christ'.

⁸⁶ Andreas Alciatus, *Emblematum libellus*, mit einer Einleitung von August Buck (Paris, 1542; reprint Darmstadt, 1991).

⁸⁷ Alison Saunders, *The Sixteenth-century French Emblem Book. A Decorative and Useful Genre* [Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance 224] (Geneva, 1988).

In addition to that, in the last two emblems the Christian tendency is underlined by the *inscriptio*: Only in the German version are these emblems designed as belonging together by *inscriptiones* corresponding to articles of the credo: 'Aufferstehung des Fleysches' ('Resurrectio carnis', ET 70), 'Und das Ewig Leben. Amen' ('Summa rerum', ET 71).

Differences, however, go far beyond reinforcing didacticism. It has been argued that the Latin and the German versions were aimed at two quite distinct sectors of the audience. Scholars maintain that the text had to be adapted to suit the supposed capacities of a presumably less sophisticated and less well-educated non-Latinist:⁸⁸ Artificial devices as the prosopopeia of Pygmalion's statue (ET 34) or the votive epigram to Asclepius (ET 48) are not imitated in the German version. A most striking example of simplification is 'Nusquam tuta fides' (ET 58). In the Latin epigram Holtzwardt is lamenting over the moral decay of his times, in which not even the countryside is secure from lies and deceit:

Hei mihi, difficile est quenquam reperire fidelem,
 Qui non esse artem fallere posse putet.
 At ruri dixere Fidem quondam usque morari,
 Nunc latet in cunctis abdita pestis agris.
 Sic toto depulsa Fides orbe exulat atque
 Haeret apud solum certa tenaxque Deum.⁸⁹

The withdrawal of Dike from earth back to Zeus had been a topos of the myth of the ages ever since Aratos, exploited by Virgil in his *Georgics*: His eulogy of rural life is reminiscent of elements of the golden age; it was among farmers and countryfolk that Justice had dwelt longest (2,473). It is therefore all the more shocking that even this region of retreat has been infected by treachery. So, the Latin epigram is contrasting Virgil's impressively painted ideal with a Virgilian *inscriptio* (*Aeneid* 4,373) and Holtzwardt's outlook becomes all the more pessimistic as opposed to the literary background. Virgilian allusions are left out in the German emblem, in which the proverbial advice 'Vertrau Schau Wem'⁹⁰ constitutes the

⁸⁸ Homann, *Studien* 90. For similar observations concerning French translations of Alciato's emblems and French emblem books see Saunders, *The Sixteenth-century French Emblem Book*, 115 and 188.

⁸⁹ 'Alas, it is difficult to find someone faithful who does not think it is an art to deceive. But in the countryside, they said, Fides used to dwell in former times; now the plague lurks hidden in all the fields. So Fides, driven away from all the world, lives in exile and stays secure and steady with God alone'.

⁹⁰ Wander 4, 1290, nos. 67-68; a Latin version would have been at hand: Walther no. 9439.

lesson drawn from the statement 'Nowhere is faith secure'. The reader of the German epigram has to be satisfied with the platitude that piety and justice dwindled everywhere alike:

Dann schier all Ständ inn dieser Welt
Sehen vil mehr auff Pracht und Gelt
dan auff die Frombkeyt und die Ehr
Es sei gleich Bauer oder Herr (ll. 5-8).

Even if we are ready to grant that the Latin epigram is an allusive text to be appreciated by classicists only, the extent to which the versions differ remains striking.

It has been pointed out that historical or mythical characters are introduced in greater detail in the German versions, Solon e.g. as one of the seven Sages (ET 30), Pygmalion as a sculptor (ET 34), or Bellerophon (ET 37). The evidence is not compelling, since the Latin epigrams in similar instances are not lacking explanatory verses.⁹¹ On the whole, Holtzwardt is not dwelling on remote mythology, and, compared to the *Lustgart*, most of Holtzwardt's emblems certainly did not prove an intellectual challenge to the average reader. We may even doubt whether Holtzwardt's German poetry was aimed at readers without any knowledge of Latin: the German epic is preceded by an introductory address to the reader in Latin distichs and Holtzwardt did not hesitate to insert Latin verses at key points of his poem.⁹²

⁹¹ ET 9,1 'Ex septem doctis, coluit quos Graecia, magnum / ipse Bias habuit quoque nomen', 'Bias ciner auß Griechen landt / so man die weisen hatt genant'; ET 26,1 'Omnibus est notum, varios cecinisse poetas / Historiam Circeos gestaue Soligenae' - 'Vil haben geschriben und gesagt / Von Circe der vil schönen Magt / Die also zierlich was und schon / (Der Sonnen tochter) als der Mon'.

⁹² F. 100r 'Virtutem studio nitidam conquirite summo, / mortales, quoniam Virtus ad astra vehit', 'For virtue with endeavour strive, mortal men, for virtue leads to the stars'; f. 172v 'Nec semper magnos venatur Delia cervos, / et parvos lepores fallere saepe solet. / Nec sunt frugiferae solae cerasique pyrique, / dulcem etiam gignunt parvula fraga cibum', 'Not always does Delia hunt big deer, she is used to trapping little hares as well. Neither do cherry and pear trees alone bear fruit, tiny strawberries give sweet food as well'. The two distichs can also be found in ET 15. Though priority of the emblems is generally accepted (Lailach, *Der Gelehrten Symbola*, 20), the verses are fitting perfectly well in the *Lustgart*. In this final passage, the poet in feigned modesty expresses his hope that the prince, who cannot always deal with important matters such as government business, will not disdain reading the literary trifles Holtzwardt is dedicating to him. A comparison taken from hunting as the most princely pastime is particularly well chosen. In the emblem, the comparison can only aim at the contrast between nobility by birth and nobility acquired by one's own efforts, the latter, however, in contradiction to the motto 'Virtus summa nobilitas', being set in the second place. The distich on virtue which has not been noticed so far is very close to ET 39,1 'Mortales, pulchram studio conquirite summo / virtutem, ad coelos haec quia sternit iter'. In

As a consequence, divergences between Latin and German emblems seem rather arbitrary and can hardly be justified by assuming a lower educational level of the German reader.

As far as proverbial metaphors and comparisons are concerned, it might be argued that idiomatic rather than literal translations are given and that dissimilarity is due to different imagery in Latin and German.⁹³ Attractive as it may seem, this hypothesis is built on very shaky foundations. Most comparisons are proverbial in either language, sixteenth-century German being subject to classical influences.⁹⁴ In 'Amicus fictus' (ET 21), for instance, Holtzwardt describes the false friend as worse than a vicious dog and a snake (v. 2 'cane mordaci peior et angue', cf. Horace, *Epistulae* 1,17,30), the German epigram introduces mischievous cats 'die davornen lecken / Und hinten mitt den zenen plecken'. Dog and snake could have been used in German as well, and Latin evidence for the proverbial falsity of cats can be found right in one of Holtzwardt's Latin epigrams.⁹⁵ For the German motto 'Wie das gesang also ist auch der vogel' ('Such song, such bird' ET 17) Latin equivalents would have been available,⁹⁶ as well as for 'Was man in Wald schreit / töndt wider ausser' (ET 41).⁹⁷ A shifting from one image to another is particularly conspicuous in cases where the *res significans* itself is concerned: In the German version

the *Lustgart* the verses are spoken by a divine voice, the solemn appeal to 'mortales' being particularly appropriate to oracular style, though, of course, it is not out of place in the epigram. As a consequence, we should perhaps revise the common opinion; the verses may have been transferred from the *Lustgart* to the emblems. Be that as it may, the German versions ignore the verses which must have been dear to the author.

⁹³ Peil, *Das Sprichwort*, 149. Several *inscriptiones* can be paralleled in the marginalia of the *Lustgart*: e.g. 'Tugend macht edell' (ET 15) - f. 98r; 'Undanckbarkeit das größte Laster' (ET 42) - f. 172r. Still, as these are proverbial phrases, they cannot be adduced as evidence for Holtzwardt's authorship.

⁹⁴ Given the success of Erasmus' *Adagia*, there is no evidence that an intense use of proverbs is characteristic of vernacular poetry – even in the *Lustgart* where proverbial and sententious remarks abound in the commenting marginalia, a considerable number of Latin quotations can be found: for instance, f. 22r 'Insuper rara est concordia formae et pudicitiae', cf. ET 26. In the epigrams several Latin proverbs and proverbial quotations have passed unnoticed so far: ET 12,9 'Haec (sc. clementia) aequat superis'; Claudian 8,277; ET 39,2 'Invia virtuti nulla est via'; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 14,113; Erasmus, *Adag.* 112; ET 56,8 'quod amantes / mentis egeni / sint'; Otto no. 79; ET 60,5 'Stat sua cuique dies'; Virgil, *Aeneid* 10,467; ET 60,10 'et semper sunt mala mixta bonis'; Walther no. 30705; no. 30759; ET 71, / , 'in mundo [...] immundo'; Mumprecht, 'Welt' *TPMA* 13, nos. 82-101.

⁹⁵ ET 51,10 'Sic frontem lambit, lacdat ut ungues catus'; v.17 'Und sind so gemein durchauß die Katzen / die fornem lecken hinten kratzen'; cf. Mumprecht and Ruef, 'lecken', *TPMA* 7, nos. 20-44.

⁹⁶ Mumprecht and Ruef, 'Vogel', *TPMA* 12, nos. 11-15.

⁹⁷ Vroni Mumprecht, 'Wald', *TPMA* 12, nos. 38-53.

of 'Moeroris et laetitiae fines ponendae' (ET 61) the lesson is no longer connected to Heraclitus and Democritus, meteorology is introduced as a new *res significans* by the proverbial *inscriptio*: 'Nach dem Regen scheint die Sonn / und nach dem Sonnenschein kompt Regen'. The proverb was not confined to German usage and Holtzwardt could have titled, for example, 'Post nubila Phoebus'.⁹⁸ Thus, alleged differences in the proverbial sayings peculiar to Latin and German respectively do not suffice to explain the differences between Latin and German versions in the *Emblematum Tyrocinia*.

The following examples underline the random nature of the divergences: In 'Studium in faustis et adversis invictissimum' (ET 8), the Latin epigram expressed the usefulness of education in the tempests of life by the symbol of an anchor, providing a visual element suitable for illustration. The *pictura*, however, shows a man protecting himself with a large book from wind and weather; the German version comes much closer to this in replacing the nautic metaphor by a military one: 'Dan geht's dir übell hast ein schildt / Wider den gar kein waffen gilt' (v.5).

In 'Fortunae non nimium credendum' (ET 29), the difference between the Latin epigram on the one hand and the *pictura* and the German epigram on the other is even more glaring. The *pictura* showing three female figures would remain quite unintelligible without the German version 'Dreyerley Glück' and its source, the above mentioned *Altercatio Hadriani et Epicteti* distinguishing between three Fortunae: 'one blind stumbling hither and thither, the other insane suddenly taking away what she has granted, the third deaf paying no heed to prayers'.⁹⁹ Holtzwardt's Latin epigram would have suggested an illustration playing on the similarity of glass and Fortune according to the well-known verse by Publilius Syrus: 'Luck is like glass - just when it glitters, it smashes'.¹⁰⁰

Improba ne incautum fors te Fortuna prehendat,
 In praecpsque ruas, sedulus ipse cave.
 Namque illam vitro similem dixere parentes,
 Dum, mage quo splendet, frangitur hoc citius.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Vroni Mumprecht, 'Sonne', *TPMA* 11, nos. 160-164.

⁹⁹ *Altercatio* 38 'Quot autem sunt fortunae? Tres. Una cocca quae ubilibet se impingit et alia insana quae concedit cito aufert, tertia surda quae miserorum preces non exaudit'.

¹⁰⁰ F 24 'Fortuna vitrea est tum cum splendet frangitur'.

¹⁰¹ 'Constantly be on your gard, lest evil Fortune should seize you unforeseen and you fall down head first. For our forefathers deemed luck similar to glass: the more it shines, the sooner it gets broken'.

A further example is 'Domus amica, domus optima' (ET 27). Although it was common from the Middle Ages up to early modern times not to distinguish limax/cochlea ('snail') from testudo ('turtle'), which was even used as a generic term for all 'shell' animals, it should be mentioned that Holtzwardt does explicitly speak of 'testudo' (the turtle in the Aesopian fable 108 Hausrath).¹⁰² In the German version, as well as in the *pictura*, the snail is chosen. But there is also a difference in the emblem's message. The Latin epigram advocates a quiet life according to the Epicurean precept *lathe biôsas*.

I Natura exemplo nobis ipsa indicat, esse
 Nil melius, propria quam latitare domo [...]
 7 Sic felix, partis qui novit parcere rebus,
 Nilque alios curat, vivat ut ipse sibi.¹⁰³

In the German version ('Eigner Herdt ist Golds werdt'), the preservation of one's property is stressed and the inner attitude is left out:¹⁰⁴

O wie glücklich ist der man
 Welcher das sein behalten kann
 das er keim andern komm für thür
 und mit Spott wird gewisen für (v. 9-12).

¹⁰² Ulla-Britta Kuechen, 'Wechselbeziehungen zwischen allegorischer Naturdeutung und der naturkundlichen Kenntnis von Muschel, Schnecke und Nautilus. Ein Beitrag aus literarischer, naturwissenschaftlicher und kunsthistorischer Sicht' in: Walter Haug (ed.), *Formen und Funktionen der Allegorie* [Symposium Wolfenbüttel 1978] (Stuttgart, 1979) 480. The matter is intricate: Fischart, who in his *Ehezuchtbüchlein* refers to snail and turtle as symbols for the ideal housewife, seems to be conscious of the zoological difference, whereas Burkhard Waldis uses the snail in his adaptations of turtle fables (Hauffen, Johann Fischarts Werke, LVIII). Erasmus, *Adag.* 2238 in commenting on the fable combines two fragments of poetry quoted by Cicero, *De divinatione* 2,133: one on the snail the other on the turtle. Barthélemy Aneau exploits the fable in his emblem 'Tecum habita', where he speaks of testudo, but employs the Erasmian fusion. In the *pictura* a turtle is shown.

¹⁰³ 'Nature herself shows us by example that nothing is better than to be hidden in one's own house. So he is happy, who knows to treat acquired wealth with care and does not care for anything but to live for himself'.

¹⁰⁴ This is also Aneau's interpretation, who quotes *Odyssey* 15,343 (n. 103). Homann (*Studien*, 99) has missed the point: '[...] daß die allgemeine Aussage des lateinischen Satzes, nämlich, daß nichts besser sei, als sich im eigenen Hause zu (ver)bergen, auf einen Aspekt reduziert und konkretisiert wird, einen Aspekt, der überdies jedermann vertraut ist: nichts ist nützlicher, als auf eigenem Herd zu kochen. So spiegelt der lateinische Text universales, abstraktes Denken, der deutsche aber ein partikulares, konkretes Denken, das eben dem ungebildeten Geiste eher verständlich ist'.

Neither is the German rendering of 'Solus sapiens dives' (ET 52) quite exact: In 'Weisheit ist die größte Reichtumb' the self-sufficiency of the Stoic sapiens is given up for the idea that a man's wealth consists in his knowledge and education.¹⁰⁵

In another emblem the point of the Latin poem is even turned into its exact opposite in the German version: Under the heading 'Amor coniugalis' (ET 35) a quite personal Latin epigram stresses the unity of the married couple. According to a topos of ancient love as well as funeral poetry the husband expresses his wish be united to his wife in death as in life; neither should live on after the other's death.¹⁰⁶

Uxor lactitiae consors simul atque doloris,
Te sine me feriant tela cruenta velim.
Te sine me rapiant optem crudelia fata,
Et mea mors solvat membra repente necans.
Ut quae iunxit amor communi foedere lecti,
Urna etiam iungat corpora bina levis,
Ossaque tumba olim venerandi testis amoris
Iuncta eadem simili conditione tegat.¹⁰⁷

In the German version the poetic ego turns from a loving husband into a preacher of morals: 'Liebe soll sein im Ehstand'. It comes as a surprise that death is seen as the end of conjugal fidelity (according to the wedding vow 'till death us do part'): 'Allhie auff Erd biß in den todt / Der allein auffhept solchs gepodt'. Though the German epigram suits the moralizing tone of the collection in general and though it is nearer to sixteenth-century reality, we may wonder why Holtzwardt should have abandoned his original idea, which may be related to an emblematic tradition, Alciato's *tumulus* emblems.

The difference between the Latin and the German version seems particularly striking in 'Virtus laesa magis lucet' (ET 40).

¹⁰⁵ Eva Delz and Ricarda Liver, 'Weise', *IPMA* 13, nos. 150-177.

¹⁰⁶ Richmond Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana, 1942) §70. Holtzwardt seems to play on the ambiguity of 'te sine me': as poetic language allows to postpone sine (cf. Virgil, *Georgica* 3,42; *Aeneid* 12,883), we may understand te mortua me feriant as well as me mortuo te feriant; similarly 'mea mors solvat membra' may mean te mortua mors solvat membra mea as well as mea mors solvat membra tua.

¹⁰⁷ 'My wife, who sharest my joy as well as my pain / I want the bloody weapons to hit me without you / I should wish cruel fate to carry me off without you / and death should dissolve me killing my body instantly. / May the two bodies, which love united in the common bond of marriage / even be united in a light urn. / Some day a tomb, witness of respectable love / may cover the bones'.

Virtutem silicique spongiaeque
 Dixerunt veteres peritiores
 Non esse absimilem. Eleganter illud.
 Namque hanc si digitis premas, aquam dat,
 Si percusseris alterum, micabit.
 Nam virtus nihil est, nisi occupetur.¹⁰⁸

The idea that virtue is put to a test by offence and shines forth in adversity is expressed by two analogous comparisons, the squeezing of the sponge as well as the hitting of the flintstone, the polarity of the results intensifying the statement.¹⁰⁹ In the German epigram, this is turned into a contrast by shifting from 'premas' to 'truckst milt'.

Dan wan du truckst den schwammen milt
 würt er gantz lehr nitt vil mehr gilt.
 Wan aber schlechst den Kißlingstein
 So fart herauß das feur gantz rein.
 Also wan die tugend truckt,
 So lescht sie auß und würt verschmuckt
 Wan du sie aber yebest vast
 so last sie auß ein schönen glast.¹¹⁰

This is such a contrary interpretation of the same *res significans* that we should rather attribute it to a translator than to the author of the Latin epigram.¹¹¹ Even if we take into account the possibility that Holtzwardt composed the German texts at Jobin's request, some ten or twenty years after the Latin emblems, we may wonder why he missed the opportunity to rework the Latin epigram after having changed his mind on the symbolical value of the sponge.

¹⁰⁸ 'The old and learned said, that virtue is not dissimilar to a flint and a sponge. This is elegantly said. For if you squeeze the sponge with your fingers, it pours out water, if you hit the other, it sparkles. For virtue is nothing if it is not practiced'.

¹⁰⁹ Reusner, in his *Aureola emblemata*, sticks to this parallelism: 'Ignem caesa silex et aquam dat spongia pressa: / laesa magis virtus lucet et alta petit' (AE 4). For the image of the flintstone see Peil, *Das Sprichwort* 142, n. 28. Unfortunately no classical evidence could be found for the image of the sponge.

¹¹⁰ 'For if you squeeze the sponge slightly, it is emptied and worth nothing. if you hit the flintstone, fire comes out ablaze. Similarly, if you oppress virtue, it expires and is despised; if you practice it, it shines forth in bright radiance'.

¹¹¹ It would be worth comparing emblem books in which the author of the Latin emblems acknowledges his authorship of the vernacular version, e.g. Barthélemy Anceau's *Picta poesis* and *Imagination poetique* and La Perrière's bilingual *Morosophie*.

Last but not least, we should observe that the personal note of 'Ex bello pax, ex pace ubertas' (ET 63) is absent from the German version. The symbol of the altar is applied to all mankind, not only to men of letters ('Der Altar deut/daß man mit Grund / Und bstand all ding soll handlen rund'); neither is the silence and prudence of the snake confined to the scriba, fruits and bees indicating that everybody will profit from the blessings of peace.

As Holtzwardt's major works are in German, his authorship has not been questioned to date. Nevertheless, we should not overlook that Holtzwardt does explain the title *Emblematum Tyrocinia* in his dedication, but does not go into the subtitle announcing bilingual emblems, *poesis picta latinogermanica*. The evidence collected above seems to point to a most natural solution, namely that (a great deal of) the German versions should not be attributed to the author of the Latin emblems. We may venture a reconstruction of how the book printed in 1581 came into being: When in 1576 Holtzwardt had compiled a collection of Latin epigrams, the publisher who must have been aware of the success enjoyed by bilingual emblem books, wished to add a German version, which was thus produced simultaneously with the pictures. This would account for pictures in accordance with the German translation but diverging from the Latin text.¹¹² Having died by 1578 (see footnote 15) Holtzwardt could not be involved in this phase of the production. Probably, translations and pictures would have turned out quite different under his direction from what they actually are. The task of editing Holtzwardt's collection was entrusted to Fischart, who introduced the emblems by a German treatise (*Vorred von Ursprung/Gebrauch und Nutz der Emblematen*) which, apart from informing about the ancient usage of the term 'emblema', served to advertise the book as a literary novelty in Germany.¹¹³ Obviously, it was Fischart's idea to publish a book of specifically German interest; in his *Vorred* he even attempts to trace back the origins of devices and emblematics to coats of arms in use among ancient Germanic tribes.¹¹⁴ Moreover, a second edition of Holtzwardt's *Eikones* was attached to the *Emblematum Tyrocinia*, the patriotic tendency being reinforced by

¹¹² It is noteworthy that the only text within a *pictura* - except for the conventional χαῖρε of the parrot in ET 28 (cf. Persius, *Prologus*, 8) - is rendered in German: 'Ich bin ein Mensch', the words King Philip ordered to be reminded of (ET 67).

¹¹³ In the very first sentence Fischart points out: 'Demnach vermutlich / daß auch bei vilen verständigen dises Büchtlins frembder / und doch zur zeit bei den Teutschen vngewohnter Titel oder Vberschrift / etwas befremdens vnd nachgedenckens wird gebären'.

¹¹⁴ Lailach, *Der Gelehrten Symbola*, Kapitel 4, 32-44: 'Der Emblematen ursprung mancherley meynung' - 'Der Nationalgedanke in Johann Fischarts Vorrede'.

including Burkard Waldis' original German verses.¹¹⁵ That the book published in 1581 was not meant to be a commemorative volume by a pious friend, is clear from the fact that Holtzwardt's authorship is not acknowledged on the title page of the *Eikones*, his preface being omitted as well as the Latin introductory poem and the *peroratio*; Fischart has added two German pieces instead. Given his interference with the *Eikones*,¹¹⁶ it seems reasonable to suppose that Fischart had a hand in the German version of the *Emblematum Tyrocinia* as well.¹¹⁷

Nicolaus Reusner's Aureola Emblemata

As was the case with many other emblem books, copies of the *Emblematum Tyrocinia* interleaved with blank pages served as *alba amicorum*.¹¹⁸ Though the declared patriotism of Fischart's volume is likely to have been applauded by Alsatian literary circles, we may wonder whether Holtzwardt's *Emblematum Tyrocinia* were appreciated by readers familiar with the more subtle and erudite collections by Sambucus or Hadrianus Junius. It is difficult to detect traces of Holtzwardt's poems in later emblem books; his name is not mentioned by subsequent emblematisers or theorists of the genre.¹¹⁹ Jobin may have realized soon that the *Emblematum tyrocinia* did not turn out to be the success he had hoped for; as a matter of fact there was no reprint. Several woodcuts were reused in editions of Fischart's

¹¹⁵ *Eikones cum brevissimis descriptionibus duodecim primorum primariorumque quos scire licet, veteris Germaniae Heroum. Bildnussen oder Contrafaktüren der XII. Ersten Alten Teutschen König und Fürsten: welcher Tugend und Thaten für andern gerümt und gepreist / und bei den Geschichtsschreibern gedacht wird. Sampt kurtzer beschreibung ires Ursprungs und herkommens / mit anzeygung / zu was zeiten sie geregiert und gelebt haben.*

¹¹⁶ Furthermore, we should not forget Fischart's remake of Holtzwardt's *Flohklage*; we may wonder whether the author lived to see it printed in 1577.

¹¹⁷ The German epigrams do not seem to be in Fischart's usual vein, contributions by Stimmer who composed a German Shrovetide play (Düffel-Schmidt, 217) cannot be excluded. One may feel somewhat uneasy about the fact that the German epigrams were uncritically adduced as linguistic evidence to argue the authenticity of the *Flohklage*: Koch, *Der Flöhkhaz*, *passim*.

¹¹⁸ Lailach, *Der Gelehrten Symbola*, 111-122; for the use of Junius' emblem book as an *album amicorum*, see Heesakkers' contribution to this volume, in particular pages 66-67.

¹¹⁹ Holtzwardt may have had a certain impact on Jean Jacques Boissard's second emblem book (Frankfurt, 1593) which follows a similar pattern from education to death. In the very first emblem 'Educatio prima bona sit' Boissard employs the same comparison as Holtzwardt in ET 2, but adds a simile taken from Horace (*Epist.* 1,2,69): 'Utile virtuti est annos assuescere primos / et tenerum sanctis moribus ingenium / frangitur incurvanda arbor, virgulta plicantur / testaque quo imbuta est fragrat odore diu'. In combining these images Boissard had a predecessor in Sebastian Brant, *Narrenschiff, Von Erziehung der Kinder* 6,15.

Geschichtsklitterung and *Ehezuchtbüchlein*,¹²⁰ and in 1587 Jobin lent the blocks to Nicolaus Reusner's *Aureola Emblemata*¹²¹; which were to appear in a second revised edition in 1591.

By 1587 the lawyer and polyhistor Nikolaus Reusner (1545, Lvov [Lemberg]–1602, Jena)¹²², who held a chair at Strasbourg university in the 1580s, could be considered an expert on emblematics and affiliated matters: Back in the year of the edition of the *Emblematum Tyrocinia*, Reusner had published a large volume of emblems in Frankfurt (edited by his brother Jeremia)¹²³, in 1580 he had compiled the *Picta poesis Ovidiana* (Frankfurt on the Main: Johannes Spieß and Sigismund Feyerabend), an illustrated compendium of classical mythology organized in emblematic manner¹²⁴, and in 1587 he was preparing a commented edition of the symbols, or mottos, of the Roman, East-Roman and German emperors, *Symbolorum imperatoriorum classes III* (Frankfurt on the Main: J. Spieß, 1588-1592).

The emblem book, which is dedicated to Ulrich, designated king of Norway, son of Frederick II of Denmark (1534-1588), starts out with an epigram on the dedicatee's coat of arms and other encomiastic pieces. A detailed preface has taken the place of Holtzwardt's short prefatory letter, Fischart's treatise is omitted. In honor of Frederick of Denmark the opening emblem is devoted to kingship ('*Maiestas principis divina*'), followed by emblems on virtue and single virtues (thus reflecting the arrangement of Alciato's later editions). After this introductory section, the broad outline of the *Emblematum Tyrocinia* (from childhood and education to resurrection) is stuck to, and single blocks of themes can be recognized.

Reusner's work on the *Emblematum Tyrocinia* is documented in the copy kept by the Bavarian State Library in Munich, into which one or more new epigrams are added to each of Holtzwardt's emblems in Reusner's

¹²⁰ Lailach, *Der Gelehrten Symbola*, 30 n. 129.

¹²¹ Nicolai Reusneri *Leorini Aureolorum emblematum liber singularis Thobiae Stimmeri Iconibus affabre effectis exornatus. Ad serenissimum principem D. Huldricum Norvegiae Haeredem, Friderici II. Reg. Dan. Filium* (Augsburg: Bernhard Jobin, 1587). Landwehr no. 497; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich Rar 4593. - Lailach, *Der Gelehrten Symbola*, 124.

¹²² Hermann Wiegand, Nicolaus Reusner, in: *Literatur-Lexikon. Autoren und Werke deutscher Sprache* ed. Walther Killy, 9 (1991), 400-401.

¹²³ *Emblemata Nicolai Reusneri i.e. partim ethica et physica partim vero historica et hieroglyphica [...] ex recensione Ieremiae Reusneri Leorini* (Frankfurt on the Main: Sigismund Feyerabend, 1581; reprint Hildesheim, 1990). Reusner's emblem 'Sex mundi chiliades' (*Emblemata sacra* 21) is an interesting parallel to Holtzwardt's emblem 'Tres aetates mundi' (ET 69).

¹²⁴ Bodo Guthmüller, 'Picta Poesis Ovidiana', in: *Renatae litterae. Studien zum Nachleben der Antike und zur europäischen Renaissance, August Buck zum 60. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1973) 171-192.

hand.¹²⁵ The text is almost identical to the *Aureola Emblemata* of 1587, but all in all their number is much greater, so that one may assume that these are not mere copies of the print, but drafts from which Reusner chose the best ones for publication, adding a final touch here and there. In the printed edition Stimmer's *picturae* are often used twice, if not even three times,¹²⁶ which increases the length of the work considerably, resulting in 128 emblems. Reusner's main intention, however, was not an expansion or re-arrangement of Holtzwardt's collection, but the transformation of each single emblem. His guiding principles as expressed in the dedicatory preface are 'brevitas ac perspicuitas', brevity without renouncing to clarity. Reusner's pursuit of epigrammatic brevity made him vote for the monodistich¹²⁷, which is used throughout the book, thus conferring artistic unity on a thematically miscellaneous collection. As a consequence, the layout is made even more unified and clear; every emblem occupies a single page, comprising a German rendering as well.

Though no new *inscriptiones* are given in the annotated Munich copy, only few of the original *inscriptiones* are retained in the print of 1587.¹²⁸ In several instances, Reusner took over Holtzwardt's *inscriptio* (or modified it slightly) for one version, and used the same subject a second time under a new motto: e.g. 'Virtus laesa magis lucet' (ET 40) = 'Laesa magis lucet virtus' (AE 4) and 'Explorant adversa viros' ('Men are tested by adversity' AE 78; Silius Italicus, *Punica* 4,603). Reusner particularly avoids Holtzwardt's constructions in the gerund: He turns 'Fortunae non nimium credendum' (ET 29) into 'Fortuna infida' (AE 59) and 'Mortalitatem considerandam' (ET 67) into 'Vive moriture' (AE 124). Instead of the unimaginative 'Exemplum prioris' (ET 3), Reusner chose the proverbial 'Morem facit usus' (AE 14).¹²⁹ He generally seems to strive for

¹²⁵ Lailach, *Der Gelehrten Symbola*, 125.

¹²⁶ E.g. ET 66 in AE 63 'Quatuor sensus corruptelae', 81 'Quatuor pacis hostes', 119 'Quatuor affectus hominis'; ET 44 in AE 24 'Nec prope nec procul', 88 'Probitas laudatur et alget', 109 'Pietati studendum'. As a clear consequence of using one woodcut in several emblems, the cuts are not always in accordance with the textual parts; partly, their attribution is even totally wrong, as in AE 70 'Vim superat ratio': Stimmer's Circe (ET 26) is used for an interpretation of Ulysses blinding Polypheme. In the Munich copy the epigram is added to ET 26. Further illustrations are taken from woodcuts in Fischart's *Geschichtsklitterung* and *Ehezuchtbüchlein*.

¹²⁷ Marion Lausberg, *Das Einzeldistichon. Studien zum antiken Epigramm*, [Studia et testimonia antiqua 19] (Munich, 1982), 13: 'das spezifische Gattungskennzeichen des geringen Umfangs abgesehen vom seltenen Einzeiler am reinsten verwirklicht'.

¹²⁸ ET 11 = AE 23, ET 19 = AE 30, ET 35 = AE 50; for ET 27 the original Greek version is given in AE 57.

¹²⁹ Otto no. 1839. The print gives 'Mortem' which is corrected in the list of errata included after the preface.

concise mottos modelled on classical poets: Thus, 'Nulla culpa poena caret' (ET 36) is replaced by 'Culpa poena comes' ('Punishment, crime's companion' AE 108; Horace, *Carmina* 4,5,24); for 'Virtus summa nobilitas' (ET 15) Juvenal 8,20 is rendered literally 'Nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus' ('Virtue is the only nobility worthy of the name' AE 27). Instead of pure indications of topics, as 'Verus amicus' (ET 20) and 'Amicus fictus' (ET 21), Reusner used proverbs: 'Certus in re incerta amicus' ('A friend in need is a friend indeed' AE 31)¹³⁰ and 'Mel in ore fel in corde' ('Mouth of honey, heart of gall' AE 32)¹³¹; 'Studium in faustis et adversis invictissimum' (ET 8) is replaced by 'Ars baculus vitae' ('Education is a walking-stick for life' AE 19), a translation of Menander, *Sententiae* 122¹³². To illustrate the need for different pedagogical methods Holtzwardt in 'Ingeniis se accommodare oportet' (ET 4) had distinguished between three natures of cattle corresponding to human characters: some obeying to a mere nod, some lured with salt and bread or flattering and a third group to be disciplined by scolding and flogging (v.11 'quos vix etiam cum verbis verbera flectant / dura'). Reusner based his emblem on the more powerful antithesis 'Aut verba aut verbera' (AE 15; cf. Terence, *Heautontimoroumenos*, 356).

It is characteristic of Reusner's technique that he tried to improve Holtzwardt's epigrams in the interest of economy and homogeneity: In 'Ingratitudo summum vitium' (ET 42) Holtzwardt expands on the example of the cuckoo in four distichs, quite awkwardly attaching a last distich about dogs which bite their breeders, thus adding an alternative symbol of ingratitude.¹³³ In the *Aureola Emblemata* two emblems are made of Holtzwardt's epigram, one exploiting the dog (AE 72) and the other the cuckoo (AE 85).

Reusner's high standard of epigrammatic concision as opposed to Holtzwardt's longwinded epigrams can be illustrated by his version of 'Ingenium et eloquentiam colendam' (ET 7):

Nil differre vides hominem atque animalia bruta,
Si eloquium desit, iudiciumque probum.
Idcirco, puer, ingenium eloquiumque disertum
Excole, ne brutis omnia sis similis.

¹³⁰ Ennius in Cicero, *Laelius de amicitia* 17, 64; Otto, no. 92.

¹³¹ Walther no. 14574; cf. Otto no. 1084.

¹³² In the Munich copy Menander *Sent.* 122 is quoted in a distich added to ET 3 (on the taming of a dog by means of a staff) B3v: 'Ars baculus vitae: Menandro crede poetae'.

¹³³ Vroni Mumprecht, 'Hund' *TPMA* 6, nos. 385-391.

Usum homini demas linguae mentisque vigorem,
Nil tibi quo a brutis differat, ille dabit.¹³⁴

Holtzwardt's poem displays his complete indifference towards epigrammatic brevity: The basic idea that man's superiority consists in reason and language is varied three times - first referring to the reader's own experience (v. 1/2), then to support the exhortation (v. 3/4) and finally arguing *ex negativo* as in the first distich (v. 5/6). Reusner was aware that the tight connection between language and reason was expressed in the ancient etymology 'oratio - oris ratio',¹³⁵ to which he alludes in his motto 'Ratio et oratio' (AE 18). Thus, he renders in a monodistich the essence which Holtzwardt took six lines to express:

Si ratio, si non oratio suppetit aequae:
Caetera par brutis iam fit asellus homo.¹³⁶

Reusner's different approach to emblem poetry becomes particularly evident in his version of Holtzwardt's emblem on the cuckoo and the nightingale (ET 46; AE 92): Starting out with the narrative 'quondam', Holtzwardt's concern is to develop the tale by rendering its single phases (v. 1/2 challenge; v. 3/4 election of the judge; v. 5/6 the ass's judgement), while Reusner comprises all important facts in the hexametre:

Lusciniae cuculum cantu praeponit asellus:
Aurículas asini censor ineptus habet.¹³⁷

Moreover, by quoting Persius 1,121¹³⁸ Reusner alludes to a mythical parallel harmonizing perfectly well with Holtzwardt's original animal story: Midas's punishment for preferring Pan to Apollo in a musical contest, an Ovidian myth exploited in Aneau's *Picta poesis*.¹³⁹ Thus, Reusner's

¹³⁴ 'You see that there is no difference in-between man and brute animals, if language is missing and right judgement. Therefore, boy, train your talent and eloquent speech, lest you be similar to the brutes in every way. Take away from men the use of his tongue and the strength of his mind, and he will not have to offer anything, whereby he differs from the brutes'.

¹³⁵ Robert Maltby, *A Lexicon of Ancient Etymologies* (Leeds, 1991) 432.

¹³⁶ 'If neither reason nor speech is at man's disposal, equal to the brutes for the rest he becomes an ass'.

¹³⁷ 'The ass prefers the cuckoo's song to the nightingale. An inept judge has ass's ears'.

¹³⁸ 'Aurículas asini quis non habet?' ('Those ass's ears - who hasn't them?').

¹³⁹ Henkel-Schöne, *Emblemata*, 160 / 606.

emblem is a successful fusion of two emblematic images denouncing unsound literary criticism.

Apart from shortening and introducing classical references, Reusner tried to improve Holtzwardt's emblems by tightening the connection between the *pictura* and the textual parts, i.e. by referring directly to the *pictura*, where Holtzwardt's Latin epigram did not (or could not) refer to it.¹⁴⁰ This is the case with Reusner's emblem 'Fortuna infida' (AE 59; cf. ET 29), where he explains the threefold character of Fortune:¹⁴¹

Fors triplex: insana et caeca et surda. nec audit
Quod decet aut cernit nec sapit ipsa bonum.¹⁴²

In 'Tecum habita' ('Lodge with yourself' AE 66; Persius 4,52) Reusner refers to the Aesopian fable which Stimmer chose to illustrate 'Nosce te ipsum' (ET 33). In one of Reusner's two versions of 'Solus sapiens dives' (ET 52), the depicted scene from Roman history is correctly identified: 'Nec auro nec ferro. In M. (sic) Curium' (AE 56). At the same time, Reusner displays his familiarity with the emblematic tradition of the Roman hero: Following Valerius Maximus, Bocchi had pointed out that Curius was defeated neither in battle nor by bribery.¹⁴³ In Reusner's *inscriptio* the effect is heightened by opposing two metals.

In details as well, Reusner tried to give more attention to the icons. In choosing a quote from St Paul for his emblem 'Melius nubere, quam uri. In laudem coniugii' (AE 36)¹⁴⁴ he directly refers to Stimmer's woodcut of a Christian family (ET 24): the man is extinguishing Cupid's torch with a jug in his left hand. Obviously, it was Stimmer's picture which prompted Reusner to give up Holtzwardt's interpretation of the octopus (ET 64) in favour of Erasmus's adage 'Polypi mentem obtine', alluded to in the first half of the hexametre; Erasmus's discussion even provided the new

¹⁴⁰ Lailach, *Der Gelehrten Symbola*, 125 'In dem eigentlichen Prozeß des Schreibens spielten folglich rhetorische Prinzipien der Textproduktion eine bestimmende Rolle; die dreiteilige Form des Emblems war hingegen ohne Bedeutung'. Cf. 134: 'Die Bilder Tobias Stimmers spielten aber bereits bei seinen handschriftlichen Einträgen eine eher untergeordnete Rolle'.

¹⁴¹ By using the singular, Reusner seems to allude to the classical source of the *Altercatio*: Pacuvius trag. 366: Daly, *Altercatio* 89.

¹⁴² 'Chance is threefold - insane, blind and deaf. It neither hears nor sees what is appropriate nor knows what is good'.

¹⁴³ 'Pecunia haud corrumpitur vir fortis et frugi, nec acie vincitur' (*Symbolicae quaestiones* 1,31); Henkel-Schöne, *Emblemata*, 1177; cf. Valerius Maximus 4,3,5.

¹⁴⁴ 1 *Corinthians* 7,9 'It is better to marry than to burn with passion'.

inscriptio 'Νόμος καὶ χῶρα' (AE 115) advising to conform to local customs.¹⁴⁵

Mens tibi sit Polypi vafri, qui protinus illa
Se quibus admorit saxa colore refert.¹⁴⁶

A similar method is followed in Reusner's remake of Holtzwardt's emblem 'Vir pius' (ET 50). Stimmer's *pictura* showing a man holding a pair of scales¹⁴⁷ made Reusner turn to a literary model: Ausonius' poem *De institutione viri boni*, which was ascribed to Virgil and, as a consequence, highly appreciated by humanist scholars. Describing the self-examination of the upright and wise man Ausonius hints at the Pythagorean symbol of the balance: 'he weighs himself by the test of a just balance'.¹⁴⁸ Ausonius's verse is quoted almost literally in Reusner's hexametre. Instead of cataloguing religious and social duties (as Holtzwardt did in his corresponding emblem) Reusner portrays the 'Vir bonus' (AE 10) as a man who weighs up his thoughts, words and deeds, the basic idea being that they have to agree to his principles.

Vir bonus, en, iusto trutinæ se examine pensat,
Mens, animus, manus, os constet ut omne sibi.¹⁴⁹

Moreover, in referring to self-examination, Reusner picks up one of Alciato's emblems (no. 17), who chose a quote from the Pythagorean *Carmen aureum* as *inscriptio*: 'Lapsus ubi? Quid feci? Aut officii quid omissum est' ('Where did I go astray? What did I achieve? Or what duty was left undone?').¹⁵⁰ As Erasmus in his corresponding adagium 'Quo transgressus' (2901) had drawn the parallel to Christian practice, Reusner's emblem is not inconsistent with the Christian outlook of Holtzwardt's original collection, and, though he stresses a different point from what

¹⁴⁵ *Adag.* 93,319 (2555).

¹⁴⁶ 'You shall have the brains of the crafty octopus, who instantly takes on the colour of the stones which he approaches'.

¹⁴⁷ Lailach, *Der Gelehrten Symbola*, 10 / 04.

¹⁴⁸ v. 9 'Cogitat et iusto trutinæ se examine pendit'. - Severin Koster, 'Vir bonus et sapiens (Ausonius 363 p. 90 P.)', *Hermes* 102 (1974) 590-619.

¹⁴⁹ 'A righteous man weighs himself in a fair test of scales, to ensure that his mind, heart, hand and mouth remain all true to himself'.

¹⁵⁰ *Carmen aureum*, 42. For the afterlife of the verses on self-examination: Johan C. Thom, *The Pythagorean Golden Verses. With Introduction and Commentary* [Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 123] (Leiden etc., 1995) 38-43.

Holtzward emphasized, his emblem may even demonstrate that a Christian ideal may be expressed by relying on classical sources.

On the whole classical learning is much more prominent in Reusner's *Aureola emblemata* than in Holtzward's *Emblematum Tyrocinia*. Reusner displays a certain mastery in handling the epigrammatic form, the succinct brevity of his monodistichs contrasting with Holtzward's sometimes tedious verbosity. And, what should be the primary task of an emblemist, Reusner concerned himself with each of the three parts of the emblem as well as their interaction (though the ultimate shaping of the book was beyond his control as it was beyond Holtzward's). Reusner's stimulus seems to have been dissatisfaction with the literary quality of Holtzward's texts, and considering his practice of adaptation we may suppose that the title *Aureola Emblemata* was intended to convey a claim of artistic improvement: The epitheton 'aureolus' implies outstanding value and is appropriate for indicating the material an emblemata (*i.e.* a piece of decoration, a badge etc.) can be made of; metaphorically it combines the implication of moral correctness with a judgement on style.¹⁵¹

The *Aureola Emblemata* have met a rather unfavourable judgement with modern critics; the collection is usually eclipsed by the voluminous *Emblemata ethica et moralia*.¹⁵² Reusner, it is true, took most of his material from Holtzward's *Emblematum Tyrocinia*. If, however, we try to judge him according to the criteria of his time, which estimated form much higher than we do, Reusner emerges as a sophisticated emblemist who tried to restore the intellectual game of literary allusiveness where Holtzward had voted for straightforward moralizing. By confining himself to the monodistich he even set an artistic standard to be followed by later emblemists such as Camerarius and Rollenhagen.

¹⁵¹ Cf. the Pythagorean *Carmen aureum*. *ThLZ* II 1491,63ff. In his dedicatory preface (p. 10) Wolfgang Hunger, Alciato's first German translator (n. 87), speaks of the emblemata as 'aureus libellus'.

¹⁵² Homann, *Studien*, 101 'in barbarischer Sprache'; 102 'in rebus emblematicis hat er besseres geleistet'.

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Arnold Freitag's *Mythologia Ethica* (1579) and the Tradition of the Emblematic Fable*

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Of all the illustrated fable collections of the so-called 'Gheeraerts filiation', Arnold Freitag's *Mythologia ethica* is probably the least known, even among specialists.¹ This is understandable, since copies of this work are extremely rare and, apart from the IDC-microfiche edition, there is no modern edition available in book form. Moreover, its author, Arnold Freitag (Freytag, Freitagius, Fritachus) is rather obscure: as far as I know, no monograph, book or article has ever been devoted to him. Some useful information on him and his work is provided by Nora Rooche Field (1979) and Richard G. Barnes (1987), the two American editors of Arthur Golding's *A Morall Table-Talk*, which is an English translation of the *Mythologia ethica*.² Older biographies do mention him briefly, sometimes only to remind the reader that almost nothing is known about his life or to distinguish him from his better-known namesake Johannes Freitag, who in 1632 became professor of medicine at the university of Groningen.³ We are somewhat better informed on the last part of Arnold Freitag's life, from 1580 until his death in 1605 (not 1614 as is generally reported), thanks to the biographical notes Paul Zimmermann devoted to Freitag and to his only son Johannes Henricus Freitag in his *Album Academiae Helmstadiensis*.⁴ Here follows the scarce information I have been able to find on his life and works.

Arnold Freitag was born in Emmerich around 1560. Nothing is known about his origins and the education he received. In the light of his future career as a medical doctor and translator, we might suppose that he acquired a perfect

* I thank Alicia Montoya for correcting my English.

¹ See Dirk Geirnaert and Paul J. Smith, 'Tussen fabel en embleem: *De warachtighe fabulen der dieren* (1567)', *Literatuur* 9 (1992) 22-33 and Marc van Vaeck, 'Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Dutch 'Emblematic' Fable Books from the Gheeraerts Filiation', *Emblematika* 7 (1993) 25-38.

² Arthur Golding, *A Morall Fabletalk*, edited by Nora Rooche Field (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation Columbia University, 1979); idem, *A Moral Fable-Talk [...]*, ed. Richard G. Barnes (San Francisco: The Arion Press, 1987). Both editors made use of Hugh G. Dick's unpublished notes and correspondence, now at the University Research Library, University of California at Los Angeles.

³ See W.J.A. Jonckbloet, *Gedenkboek der Hoogeschool te Groningen* (Groningen, 1864) 21. I thank professor Klaas van Berckel (University of Groningen) for this information.

⁴ Paul Zimmerman, *Album Academiae Helmstadiensis*, vol. I (Hildesheim-Leipzig, 1926).

knowledge of Greek and Latin and that he studied medicine. His knowledge of the modern languages (at least German, French, Dutch and Italian) proves that he travelled a lot. He stayed for some time in Antwerp where, probably as a result of his fluency in Latin and in the vernacular languages, he came into contact with the artist and publisher Philips Galle. In 1579 (at the very young age of twenty) he published his *Mythologia ethica*, probably at the instigation of Galle, and in 1580 a book with texts and illustrations on mythological marriages, *Divinarum nuptiarum conventa et acta*.⁵ Both books were printed by Plantin for Galle (as their title-pages explicitly mention). In 1579 he was in London, as is clear from his contribution to the *album amicorum* of the Dutch historian and diplomat in England, Emanuel van Meteren. His contribution, dated *London. 1579, III Kalend Sextilis*, shows that he belonged to an important Protestant Anglo-Dutch network, closely related to the circles of Sidney and Spenser; his name figures among those of a number of influential people who wrote in Van Meteren's album during his stays in London, Antwerp and Leiden: in chronological order Marnix, Peeter Heyns, Marcus Gheeraerts, Goltzius, Rademacher, Lucas D'Heere, Hoefnagel, Ortelius (all 1576), Galle, Lipsius (1577) and Clusius (1579).⁶ In December 1579 he entered the service of Duke Julius of Wolfenbüttel. In 1584 Freitag received a personal subsidy from Duke Julius to study medicine for two and a half years in France and Italy (which even covered the costs of taking his doctoral degree) on the condition that he become Julius's personal physician, which he did indeed become in 1587. In 1588 he was appointed professor of medicine at the university of Helmstedt, a position he left soon afterwards for reasons unknown.⁷ He returned to Wolfenbüttel, where he died in 1605. His wife Anna (of whom we know nothing) died in 1613. In 1614 their son Johannes Henricus Freitag⁸ published a brief elegy, *Lacrumae Syncerae de obitu Arnoldi Freitagii Medicinae Doctoris [...] Annae, Arnoldi Freitagii Coniugis [...] Et [...] Pauli Musaei, Concionatoris Primarii Ecclesiae Henricopolotanae [...] Pietatus et Gratitudeinis, parenter et Tutorem suum*.⁹

From 1585 on, as was the custom among travelling students, Freitag kept his own *album amicorum*. As an album he had the original idea of using

⁵ Cf. Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589) [...]* (Amsterdam, 1981) 954-957.

⁶ H.C. Rogge, 'Het album van Emanuel van Meteren', *Oud Holland* 15 (1897) 159-210.

⁷ Probably for reasons of academic disfunctioning, as is suggested by Zimmermann: 'er [...] ist, wie es im Dekanatsbuche heißt, 'von hinnen wieder gen Hoff gezogen' '.

⁸ Zimmermann (414) gives us some details about J.H. Freitag: he enrolled as a student of medicine at the University of Helmstedt in 1615, and became *Provisor* in 1618. He probably is the author of *Catalogi testium veritatis chymiatricae prodromus* (1635).

⁹ The only known extant copy is in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel (218.6 Quod. [25]).

his personal copy of his own translation of Philippe Duplessis-Mornay's *Excellent discours de la vie et de la mort* (1576) under the title *Vitae mortisque atque adeo humanorum actionem Christianae ac pia consideratio* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1585), which is now at the *Biblioteka Jagiellonska* at Cracow.¹⁰ The album, which I have unfortunately not been able to see, could possibly provide us with more information on his wanderings through Europe. The choice of the author he translated gives us some insight into his religious sympathies, for Duplessis-Mornay (1549-1623) was the most outspoken Protestant defender of freedom of conscience. Besides this work, Freitag also translated a number of other religious and medical works from French, Italian and German into Latin.¹¹

The present obscurity of Freitag's *Mythologia ethica* is unjustified, not only because of its intrinsic qualities, but also because of the impact it had on other fable collections. The *Mythologia* was widely read and imitated. In this article, I would like not only to study Freitag's fable collection *in se*, but also to evaluate its place in the tradition of the emblematic fable book by studying its rewriting of earlier specimens of the same tradition, and by exploring the various authors who translated (Arthur Golding) or plagiarized the book (the printer Mutingus), or were inspired by it (Joost van den Vondel, Philip Ayres). Before doing this, it is essential for our argument to outline briefly the tradition in which Freitag's fable collection stands.

The Emblematic Fable Before the Mythologia Ethica

In his preliminary Letter of Dedication to the well-known Abraham Ortelius and Andreas Ximenes, Freitag briefly indicates his two immediate sources: 'libellus non ita multo ante e Belgico in Gallicum idioma vernaculo utrisque carmine translatus'. The first book mentioned is the *Warachtighe fabulen der dieren* ('The Truthful Fables of the Animals'), a collection of 107 fables written by the Bruges poet Eduard de Dene, illustrated by his fellow townsman, the artist Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder, and published in 1567. The second book is an anonymous French adaptation of this collection, entitled *Esbatement moral des animaux*,¹² printed in 1578 by the Antwerp printer A.

¹⁰ Cf. Wolfgang Klose, *Corpus Alborum Amicorum [...]* (Stuttgart, 1988) 127 and Sandra Sider, *Bibliography of Emblematic Manuscripts* (Montreal etc, 1997) no. 12.

¹¹ A bibliography of Freitag's work does not exist. He translated works by Duplessis-Mornay and Baldassare Pisanelli (*De esculentorum potulentorumque facultatibus liber [...]*, 1592 (several editions)), and a *Medicina animae, quae moriendi ars est, ex Hestrusco idiomate in Latinum translata*, 1614 (Wolfenbüttel).

¹² For the possible authors of the *Esbatement moral*, see my 'Het dronken Hert. Een emblematische fabel bij De Dene en Vondel', in: Karel Bostoen, Elmer Kolfin, Paul J. Smith

Smits for Philips Galle. Just like Freitag's collection, these books belong to the category of so-called 'emblematic fable-books'. Before going any further, it is necessary to elaborate on this Aesopian subgenre.

The term 'emblematic fable' was coined by Barbara Tiemann¹³ to designate a hybrid form created by the French humanist and printer Gilles Corrozet, who cast the traditional Aesopian fable into the well-known two-page, three-fold emblematic layout (*motto-pictura-subscriptio*). The first to practice this genre in the Netherlands were the above-mentioned Eduard de Dene and Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder, who not only adopted the emblematic disposition for their illustrated texts, but also took their texts from contemporary emblem books as well as from the Aesopian corpora. To be precise, of a total of 108 fables, only seven come directly from Aneau's French translation of Alciato. In order to show the specific layout and its development from *De Warachtighe fabulen* (1567) to the *Mythologia ethica* (1579), I have chosen one particular example, Fable CXXI, 'Of an old impotent Stork', which is one of the seven originally Alciatic emblems.

The Dutch version by De Dene and Gheeraerts (fig. 1) shows on the left page a motto (a rhyming distich), Gheeraerts's illustration and biblical quotation (which replaces the emblematic *subscriptio*), and on the right page the two part structured fable. The typographic layout is interesting, for the left page is in roman type, whereas the right page displays three letter types: the fable's title is in roman type, the narration is in Gothic, whereas the morals are in italics. The French version, the *Esbatement moral* (fig. 2), is structured in much the same way. The major change is that the fable (narration plus moral) is condensed into a sonnet on the right page, with the fable's title in italics, and the sonnet in Gothic, whereas the texts, under and above Gheeraerts's illustration on the left page, are in italics. Finally, the *Mythologia ethica* (fig. 3) displays on the right page the title (roman), the narration (italics) and the morals (roman), and on the left page the motto (roman), Gheeraerts's illustration and the biblical quotations (italics). The major change consists in the use of prose for the narration (instead of the poetic forms of the *Warachtighe fabulen* and the *Esbatement moral*). Here follows the translation of the narration, the morals and the motto:¹⁴

(eds.), 'Tweelinge eenen dragt'. *Woord en beeld in de Nederlanden (1500-1750)* (Hilversum, 2001) 13-40.

¹³ Barbara Tiemann, *Fabel und Emblem. Gilles Corrozet und die französische Renaissance-Fabel* (Munich, 1974).

¹⁴ My references are to the page numbers of the original edition, available on microfiche. Where possible, the English translations are Golding's in the modernized version by Barnes. The numbers in roman correspond to the fable numbers of Barnes's edition, which are the same as the ones of Field's edition and those of the *Esbatement moral*.

‘Of an old impotent Stork’

The Stork lonely of all the Birds which the huge circuit of the Earth and the liquid space of the air nourisheth, surmounteth all the residue in care and curiousness of bringing up his young; and findeth a mutual kindness at their hand again. By which notable example of theirs, men are admonished of the lovingkindness which they owe one to another, when cause and need require. And the wonderful example of the kindness which the young ones yield back again to their dams, shameth the unkindness of most men, which alas is too foul. For they so religiously obey the law of Nature, in taking upon them the care of their parents; that in their commonweal it is counted a heinous crime, and not to be cleansed away by any punishment, if they should cast off the care of their parents, and not succor them in their need, whereby it cometh to pass that forasmuch as the young Birds (when they be yet callow and tender of body) be not neglected of their dams; nor the dams likewise be neglected of them, to whom they imparted life. Their government, being administred with diligence of careful kindness, is never attained with any penury.

The morals: The Stork being void of the light of Reason, admonisheth us to have a care of our parents, and not to forsake them when they be pinched with penury or old age, but to releive them with kind affection in their decay, which have brought us into the world, and with so great care nourished us.

Motto: Mutual kindness of children towards their parents (Fable CXXI, Barnes, p. 288).¹⁵

From this and other examples, it should be clear that emblematic fable books are not genuine emblem books. They are, by their layout, ‘on the boundary’, as was recently stated by the authoritative bibliography of French emblem books, which included the *Esbatement moral* in the corpus of the French emblem.¹⁶

¹⁵ In a sense, this specific example is atypical since it shows us one of the rare instances in which the absence of an actual narrative, which is proper to the emblematic origins of the text, causes a certain verbosity in the narration and some repetitiousness in the morals.

¹⁶ Alison Adams, Stephen Rawles, Alison Saunders (eds.), *A Bibliography of French Emblem Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1999-2002) 455-456.

Imitation and Creation in the Mythologia Ethica

Freitag's Latin text presents a prose adaptation of all the 125 fables of the *Esbatement*, in the same order. This order is very different from the one adopted by Gheeraerts and De Dene. This is not simply due to the fact that the French version adds eighteen new fables to the original 107. The difference in ordering can also be explained by more intrinsic poetical reasons. The *Warachtighe fabulen* begins and ends with a series of new, non-aesopian fables (as if to stress the originality of the collection), whereas the rest is governed by the *ordo neglectus* that characterized the first editions of Alciato's *Emblematum libellus*. The fables of the *Esbatement moral*, on the contrary, are ordered thematically (as is the case in the later editions of Alciato's emblems starting with the 1542 edition by Aneau): the fables on horses, for example, are more or less grouped together, as well as those on foxes or lions. Moreover, according to Field (p. 63), the collection is 'designed to be read from the beginning to the conclusion; the movement is from life's hardships towards man's salvation'.¹⁷ Whereas the authors of the *Esbatement* never motivate or even make explicit this ordering, Freitag is very conscious of it. In the last four fables of the collection, his motivation for this ordering (and the awareness of what has already been said) is linked to two important images taken from the world of the theatre: the fable as a piece of theatre and man's life as a theatre or stage. Let us review the way in which the last fables begin:

The dizzardly Ass, which being so often mentioned sustaineth now one person and now another, and offereth himself last upon the stage to be gazed at, [...] (Fable CXXII, 'Of an Ass laden with provision of meat and drink', Barnes, p. 290).

What is to be done or left undone in our life, we have learned already by the example of many living Creatures. Now forasmuch as the path of virtue is steep, and one night abiteth for all men, so as one time or other they must tread the way of death: let us learn of the Swan, with what mind to receive this night coming upon us (Fable CXXIII, 'Of a Swan and a Stork', Barnes, p. 292).

¹⁷ As another example of a contemporary structured fable collection, Field (pp. 62-63) quotes Thomas North's *Morall Philosophie of Doni drawn out of the auncient writers* (1570): 'He that beginneth not to read thys Booke from the beginning to the end and that not advisedly followeth not the order he findeth written, shall never profite anything there by'.

To the intent that our manner of philosophy, which we have begun at the crabbed labor and toils of man's life, may be seasoned with some sweetness of rest: let us bring forth the sole Phoenix, to end the art of this play with a gladsome winding up, such as comedies ought to have (Fable CXXIV, 'Of the Phoenix', Barnes, p. 294).

The Phoenix had almost put me to silence, and the flourishing hope of the blessed and endless life had shut up the doors of my Theater; but that after that last farewell, the religiousness of the Stork had willed me to add this short admonition (Fable CXXV, 'Of the Stork', Barnes, p. 296).

The image of man's life as a play, more specifically a farce is, of course, a Renaissance commonplace. The image of the fable as a theatre is an old one, to which Gheeraerts gave his own interpretation in the illustration he designed for the *Esbatement's* title-page (*esbatement* is a short comic play). This theme is absent from the text of the *Esbatement*. Freitag, however, worked it into his own text, from fable LXXX, p. 160 onwards, where we find an allusion to the title, 'in hoc mythologiarum teatro', immediately followed by the word 'videtis', which refers to the 'theatre', to the picture or to both.¹⁸

From Freitag onwards, the image of the fable as a play is omnipresent in early modern fable-writing, from the emblematic fable books of the Gheeraerts filiation (see for example Desprez's, *Theatre des animaux* (1595) and Sadeleer's *Theatrum morum* (1608)) until La Fontaine, who typifies his fables as 'une ample comédie à cent actes divers / Et dont la scène est l'univers'.¹⁹

As we have already noted, another novelty of the *Esbatement's* fables is that they are written in the concise form of a sonnet: the first three strophes relate the narration, the last tercet contains the moral. Freitag's prose form allows for great liberty in elaborating on certain themes which remain implicit or even absent in the concise sonnet form. Textual comparison teaches us that the basic text Freitag used was indeed the *Esbatement moral* but that, curiously, he consulted the Dutch text of De Dene as well, although not systematically.²⁰

¹⁸ Other references are on p. 190: *scena*; p. 240: 'Tempus nunc est ut in scenam philomela prodeat [...]'.
¹⁹ *Fables*, V, 1: 27-28.

²⁰ Here follows a short list of words and locutions in the *Mythologia ethica* which do not correspond to the French, but only to the Dutch version.

Freitag		De Dene	
p. 22	Pervetusta	p. 77	van langhe beghonnen tijden

In fact, the personal influence of Freitag, his non-imitative *creatio*, is very strong. This becomes evident when one compares Freitag's text not only to his French and Dutch sources, but also to contemporary Latin fable collections, of which the Goudanus collections, as they were printed by Plantin in the same years, are good specimens. Those fables are mostly written in a simple, dry style; their moral is always introduced by a stock formula, 'Fabula docet' or the like. Freitag makes something new out of them, following the precepts of stylistic embellishment and *amplificatio* which were part of any humanistic education (see for instance Aphthonius's much-used *Progymnasmata*, which offers specific exercises in embellishing and amplifying Aesopian fables). Here follows an overview of the most striking ways in which Freitag succeeds in embellishing the old Latin fable and the condensed texts of the *Esbatement*.

First, there is his syntactic and lexical use of Latin. Instead of the relatively simple syntactic structure of most Aesopian fables, Freitag always uses stylistic variation which, together with the use of inversion and adjectival anteposition, sometimes accumulates in beautifully complex sentences such as the opening sentence of 'Basilisci et Musteleae' ('Of a Cockatrice and a Weasel'), in which the inversion mirrors the monstrous basilisk's suspended entry:

Opacam, horridam, vepribusque coopertam speluncam immanis ac
truculentus basiliscus inhabitans [...] (p. 12).²¹

In fact, every fable, every moral opens differently. His varied Latin is also larded with Greek words (pp. 156, 147, 326 etc.), which points to an important

p. 22	Ubi luporum catuli succrevissent, ipsi in oues [...]	p. 77	De ionghe Wolfs sterk werden int leuen / Hebben zelue de Schapen [...]
p. 24	The narrative follows more closely De Dene than the <i>Esbatement</i>	p. 203	
p. 76	media crepat	p. 33	Int midden open gheborsten
p. 188	a periculo	p. 129	Pericle

In order to find those correspondences I have systematically analysed the first thirty-seven pages of the *Mythologia ethica* (fables I-XVIII). The other two correspondences (from page 38 on) I found more or less by chance.

²¹ This is one third of the whole sentence. Golding's translation does not reproduce the inversion: 'A certain huge and cruel Cockatrice, harboring in a dreary and dusky den overgrown with bushes [...]' (VI).

characteristic of Freitag's fables, namely his erudition which, as a young humanist, he was eager to exhibit in the first book he published. His learned remarks are often set between brackets and mostly occur in the opening sentences of the fable:

Leo galli cucurientis (aiunt enim hanc esse inter illa animantia naturae aegram δυσώπητιν) [...] (p. 8).²²

Dum foetum cancer (ex eorum genere quos cammaros Plinius indicabat [?]) [...] (p. 50).²³

Often they treat of some lexicological matter:

Nitedula (agresti muri hoc nominis est) [...] (p. 88).²⁴

Balanites (sic enim Plinius grandiorum castaneorum genus nominat) [...] (p. 128).²⁵

Mus maior (quem glirem plerique autumant, sed quam recte, ipsi viderint) [...] (p. 168).²⁶

²² 'The lion [startling at the noise of] a Cock that crowed (for it is said to be the natural infirmity of that beast to so do)' (IV). In identifying Freitag's sources here and elsewhere, I have made extensive use of the commentary in the editions by Field and Barnes. The source here could be Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, VIII, 16, 202 (Barnes), but the fable is widely known.

²³ 'When a certain Sea-Crab, of that kind which Pliny registreth among the Cammars [...]' (XXV). Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, XXVIII, 3, 2 and XXXI, 8, 44 (Barnes).

²⁴ 'Ranny or Shrew (it is the name of a kind of fieldmouse)' (XLIV).

²⁵ '*Balanites* (for thus Pliny calls the bigger kind of Chestnuts)' (LXIV; transl. Field, 231; no translation by Golding). Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, XV, 13, 446-447 (Field; no source given by Barnes).

²⁶ 'The great Mouse (which some suppose to be the Dormouse, but how rightly let themselves look to it)' (LXXXIV). Why does Freitag refer here to a *mus maior*? De Dene simply has 'huusratte'; the *Esbatement moral* has 'rat domestique' and 'rat de maison'. Freitag could have been inspired by Etienne Perret's *XXV fables des animaux*, another French adaptation of the *Warachtige fabulen*, also published in 1578 by Plantin. Perret has: 'Vn domestique Rat gros & gras à merueille'. See my 'Le rat et l'huître: les avatars d'un emblème, d'Alciat à La Fontaine', in Sijef Houppermans, Paul J. Smith, Madeleine van Strien-Chardonneau (eds.), *Histoire jeu science*

Gallopavum (quem Indicum pavonem alio nomine indicabant [?]) [...] (p. 236).²⁷

Equally erudite is his wide use of classical expressions (for instance 'Sardonice ridens', p. 8; 'cum Cretense Cretisandum', p. 22; 'videmus enim hic artis magistrum necessitatem', p. 202) and proverbial material as in 'In scrobem incidant, quam alteri effoderunt' (p. 16), 'Vetus proverbium est naturae characteribus cuiusvis animo insculptum, e duobus malis minus malum semper esse eligendum' (p. 56), 'Similes cum simildus facillime permisceri [...] verteri cognitum est adagio' (p. 210), 'quod vulgi in ore est, unam hirundem ver non facere' (p. 214). His use of proverbs and locutions is humanistic, for most of them are to be found in collections like Erasmus's *Adagia* and *Apophthegmata*, but I would suggest that Freitag's free use of the proverbial material indicates that he knew the proverbs by heart.

Another aspect of his learning is his use of classical citations, especially in the fable's moral. Sometimes the sources are indicated, sometimes not. In the latter case he establishes a learned connivance with the reader, expecting him to recognise the citations:

quid veteris illud poetae norunt, *Turpe est doctori cum culpe redarguit ipsum* (p. 50; source:²⁸ Cato, *Disticha* I, 30).²⁹

neque hallucinatum poetam cum diceret, *Ignoti nulla cupido* (p. 102; source: Ovid, *Ars amatoria* III, 397).³⁰

atque heu nimium vera illa est poetae sententia, *Dum fueris felix, multos numerabis amicos; / Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris* (p. 162; source: Ovid, *Tristia* I, ix, 5-6).³¹

Through his humanist rewriting of the fables, Freitag contributes to the upgrading of the Aesopian genre which took place in Renaissance Europe.

dans l'aire de la littérature. Mélanges offerts à Evert van der Starre (Amsterdam, 2000) 143-159 (150).

²⁷ 'A Turkey Cock (whom by another name some call an Indian Peacock)' (CXVIII).

²⁸ All sources are given by Field, the translations are by Golding/Barnes.

²⁹ 'For few there be that bear in mind this saying of the Poet: *That teacher justly merits double blame, / Which checking others, faulteth in the same*' (XXV).

³⁰ 'And that the Poet was not overshot when he said: *There is no liking of the thing that is unknown*' (LI).

³¹ 'And alas, too true is the saying of the Poet, *So long as fortune favoreth thee, / Thou shalt have friends good store; / But let her once upon thee frown, / They know thee then no more*' (LXXXI).

From the time of Boccaccio onwards,³² fables served not only as material for educational purposes, but also became an object of study for humanist scholars. This process of upgrading can be seen, among other things, in the fable's emblematic layout and the growing quality of its illustrations throughout the sixteenth century. Freitag's upgrading of the genre is made explicit in his already-mentioned dedication to Ortelius and Ximenes. This preliminary text could be read as an enthusiastic defense of the Aesopian fable, which Freitag relates to Greek mythology, to the philosophical wisdom of Plato and, most interestingly, to Christ's parables (see my conclusion below).

I would like to point out another aspect of importance which is closely related to Freitag's and the *Esbatement*'s innovative use of the Aesopian genre, namely the politico-religious implications of his fable-writing. These are especially visible in the first fables of the collection, which are added to the De Dene's ones. According to Dick the very first fable of the *Esbatement* and the *Mythologia ethica*, 'Of a Carrier and His Horse', alludes to the punitive taxation of the Spanish Netherlands under the Duke of Alva. The second fable, 'Of the Lion and the Fox', 'almost certainly alludes to the forethought of William of Orange (early April 1567) in going into exile and the folly of Egmont and Hoor, who did not do so, who on 9 Sept 1567 accepted Alva's invitation to confer with them at Brussels and who were seized by the Spanish host and executed' (Dick cited by Barnes, p. 314). And commenting upon the third fable, 'Of the Oak and the Elm', Dick asks himself: 'Could the bloody counselor Elm be Alva and the kingly Oak, of a mild disposition, be Philip?' Barnes (p. 314) comments: 'In his *Justification* (1568) William of Orange offered Philip (and everyone else who read it) such an interpretation of the events'. I believe, however, that Barnes and Field are right in not overestimating the political impact of the *Esbatement* and the *Mythologia*. Although Freitag's political interest seems greater than the one expressed in the *Esbatement*, it never becomes very specific. One implicit political statement could lie in the choice of the Bible Freitag used. According to Field (p. 88), Freitag used the Protestant Louvain Vulgate (1572).³³

³² K.A.E. Enenkel, 'Tussen lering en vermaak. De Latijnse fabel in het humanisme', in W.L. Idema, (a.o., eds.), *Mijn naam is haas. Dierenverhalen in verschillende culturen* (Baarn, 1993) 37-47, esp. 38-40; Perrine Galand-Hallyn and Fernand Hallyn, *Poétiques de la Renaissance. Le modèle italien, le monde franco-bourguignon et leur héritage en France au XVI^e siècle* (Geneva, 2001) 373-379.

³³ This identification is based on the way Freitag refers to biblical texts, but Field notes some typographical discrepancies between Freitag and the Louvain Vulgate which, for the time being, remain unexplained.

Title and Title-Page: an Interpretation

In any discussion of the innovative aspects of Freitag's fable-writing, the title and subtitle of his collection (fig. 4) must also play an important role, since they outline a new thematic program which is reworked in his texts. The complete title runs *Mythologia ethica, hoc est Moralis philosophiae per fabulas brutis attributas, traditae, amoenissimum viridarium: In quo humanae vitae labyrintho demonstrato vritutis semita pulcherrimis preceptis, veluti Thesei filo docet.*

First of all the title's traditional aspects: the indication 'moralis' alludes to the old distinction, since Aphthonius's *Progymnasmata*, between three kinds of fables: 'rationales' (fables featuring human actors only), 'morales' (fables featuring animals for the instruction of men) and 'mixtae' (fables featuring both animals and men). Whereas De Dene's *Warachtighe fabulen* are 'morales' in that they contain no fables featuring men alone (the only exception, 'The Peasant and the Satyr', is not a genuine exception if one considers the satyr an animal), the *Esbatement moral* and therefore the *Mythologia ethica* too, are less strict in also adding fables featuring only men or only plants (examples include 'Of the North Wind', 'the Sun & a Wayfarer' and 'Of the Oak and the Elm'). The term 'mythologia' coincides with the general idea expressed in the author's Dedication that fables are comparable to stories concerning the pagan gods. What is also new is the term 'viridarium'. This term was probably inspired by the Dutch word *warande* (beautiful garden), used by Lucas D'Heere in his poem for the *Warachtighe fabulen*. The word *warande* would later be the central part of Vondel's title *De Vorsteliicke Warande der dieren*, while the term 'viridarium' is chosen by the printer Mutingus for the title of his plagiarism of Freitag's fable collection (see the following paragraph). The other interesting innovation is that this image of the garden is linked with the old image of man's life as a labyrinth. As is justly noted by Field (66), the 'labyrinth of life' is a Renaissance commonplace.³⁴ The image is expanded by Freitag in his preliminary Dedication: 'Mortals are led through the winding fold of words into the sanctuary of truth as though from darkness into light and as from a misty cloud into the most brilliant radiance' (tr. Field, 66). This thematic linking was to have an important afterlife a century later when it was possibly to become the basis for the famous labyrinth at Versailles. This royal labyrinth (set up in 1675 and destroyed in 1775) consisted of thirty-nine fountains with bronzes designed by Le Brun, who seemed to link the idea of a labyrinth, as expressed in the

³⁴ Field appropriately quotes Fulke Greville's biography of Philip Sidney, whose purpose in his Arcadian romances was 'not vanishing pleasure alone, but morall Images, and Examples, (as directing threds) to guide man through the confused *Labyrinth* of his own desires, and life'.

Mythologia, with a number of fables which are only known from the *Mythologia* (or from one of the other books of the Gheeraerts filiation).³⁵

The traditional and the innovative aspects of the title are underlined by a beautiful etching by Marcus Gheeraerts which demands close examination. The reader's attention is drawn first to the elephant at the bottom of the page, who seems to bear the whole title. Why begin with an elephant? The answer can be found in a curious contemporary book by the architect Joseph Boillot on animal motifs to be used in architectural orders, entitled *Nouveaux pourtraicts et figures de termes pour user en l'architecture: Composez & enrichiz de diversité d'Animaux, representez au vray, selon l'Antipathie & contrarité naturelle de chacun d'iceulx* (Langres, 1592).³⁶ The first animal treated by Boillot is the elephant:

L'elephant de toutes les beste terrestres est la plus grosse & puissante, croissant iusques a neuf coudees de hauteur & cinq d'espesseur ou grosseur. Pour faire vn merueilleux desgast & foudroyment les anciens s'en seroient au faict de la guerre, les armants par le muffle, & leurs chargeant le dos de tours & edifices, ou estoient gens armez & combattans, comme appert par infinies histoires, mesme en vegece Elian & Pline. Occasion dequoy ie metz cet animal fort & robuste le premier, pour estre vn fondement puissant & asseuré, soubz quelque edifice en premier etage: & pour luy donner charge & pesanteur en quelque endroict ou l'ouvrier le vouldra disposer & en former vn terme.

The force and firmness of the elephant are accentuated by the fleeing hare or rabbit Gheeraerts represented at his side, the hare being the traditional symbol of cowardice and instability. The camel and the stag are both animals treated by Boillot as elegant bearers of architectural constructions.³⁷ Turning upward, one considers on both sides the world's two biggest birds: the ostrich and the crane. On the crane, Pierre Belon, in his ornithological reference work (Paris, 1555), notes 'La Grue est le plus grand entre tous: parquoy commencerons par

³⁵ The following fables are from the Gheeraerts filiation: *Le Coc et le Coc d'Inde*; *Le Singe et le Chat*; *Le Loup et le Porc-Epic*. There is one fable ('Le Perroquet et le Singe') that is not in the *Mythologia*, but only in Sadel[e]r's *Theatrum morum* (1609). This could indicate that he found those fables of the Gheeraerts filiation in Sadeleer's *Theatrum morum* or in its French translation, *Figures diverses tirées des fables d'Esope et d'autres et expliquées par R.D.F. [Raphaël Trichet du Fresne]* (Paris, 1659).

³⁶ Ed. Paulette Choré and Georges Viard (Paris, 1995).

³⁷ On the camel: 'Le Chameau me semble estre fort propre en aultres, & avoir une bien belle grace pour le disposer en [for]me de terme, en quelque endroict qu'il soit mis'. On the stag: 'Le Cerf assez congneu de tous, combien qu'il ne soit des plus robustes, si a il belle & haulte taille, pour monstrier apparenc de forces assez suffisantes a soustenir bon faix'.

elle' (p. 186).³⁸ The reason why the ostrich is placed just above the camel can be explained by the following etymological remark of Belon: 'Les Latins prenant leur ethymologie d'un Chameau, & d'un oyseau, ont mieux aymé dire *Strouthiocamelus*, le voyant animal de double nature ou douteuse, à sçavoir si on les doit referer à animal terrestre, ou à oyseau. Ja n'est il pas oyseau: car il ne se peut eslever de terre pour prendre l'aer' (p. 231). This could be the reason why the crane opposite is represented flying. Both big birds are accompanied by two tiny birds, as if to accentuate their force (the bird perched on the ostrich's back could be the nightingale of the fable 'The Ostrich and the Nightingale', a fable newly invented by De Dene and Gheeraerts). Among the other animals portrayed, attention can also be focused on the couple formed by the cat (on the left) and the monkey (on the right), which probably refers to the fable 'Cat and Monkey', another fable newly invented by Gheeraerts and De Dene. And in the top corners one encounters the stork (or heron) and the cormorant (which is absent from Freitag's fables as a protagonist) which both, as fish-eaters, indirectly represent the water animals, the only category which is not represented directly on the title-page.

The sophisticated composition of the title-page arouses high expectations concerning the bi-medial aspects of the book (as was the case with the *Warachtighe fabulen der dieren*). In this respect, however, the book disappoints the reader: Freitag scarcely refers to the illustrations, and only once does he demonstrate that he looked better at the illustration than his anonymous predecessors in the *Esbatement moral*.³⁹

Plagiarizing and Translating the Mythologia Ethica

The literary importance of a work does not depend only on its intrinsic qualities or its position with regard to its immediate predecessors, but also on its *Nachleben*. This appears to be especially the case for the *Mythologia ethica*. The collection was judged to be sufficiently important to merit translation into English by the most outstanding translator of the time: Arthur Golding who, by 1579, had already published his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, as well as work by Calvin and Beza. Another proof of its importance is the fact that the collection was reintroduced on the book market in a pirated edition by the printer Mutingus. Because Freitag himself seems to have been personally implied in both the translation and the plagiarized

³⁸ *L'Histoire de la nature des oyseaux*, ed. Philippe Glardon (Geneva, 1997). Geirnaert and Smith (1992) suggest that Belon's illustrations could have inspired some of Gheeraerts's bird illustrations.

³⁹ See my article 'The Viper and the File', 67.

edition, let us consider those cases more closely, beginning with Mutingus's plagiarized version.

In 1594 the *Mythologia ethica* was reprinted in Cologne by Mutingus under a different title, *Viridarium moralis philosophiae, per fabulas animalibus brutis attributas traditae, iconibus artificiosissime in aes insculptis exornatum* [...]. Freitag's name disappeared not only from the title-page but from the whole book. Gheeraerts's frontispiece was updated,⁴⁰ while Freitag's Letter of Dedication was omitted, and the collection begins with a laudatory poem signed by Cornelis Kiliaan and three new invented fables endowed with a layout and illustrations comparable to those of the *Mythologia ethica*. At the end of the book Freitag's Index is also missing. It is not surprising therefore that bibliographies and library catalogues often attribute the *Viridarium* to Kiliaan.

Freitag considered the *Viridarium* a work of plagiarism. He wrote a virulent pamphlet against Mutingus, entitled *Vindicia. Arnoldi Freitagii Embricensis, M. D. in plagiarium Georgium Mutingum Chalcographum Coloniensem ad aequos iudices* (n.p., n.d.).⁴¹ But was it only Mutingus who was to blame for the plagiarism? A close comparison of the *Viridarium* with the original *Mythologia ethica* reveals that all the pages except the new ones have exactly the same type and layout as the ones of the *Mythologia ethica*. The newly added pages at the beginning of the book, that is to say the preliminary poem by Kiliaan and the first three fables, occupy the first gathering. The last gathering is simply omitted. That means that Philips Galle had sold the unbound copies to Mutingus, who made a new collection out of them by simply replacing the title-page and the first gathering by new ones. So, apparently, the plagiarism was initiated by Galle. Freitag, who had left Flanders a long time ago and had probably lost all contact with his former editor, was probably not informed by him.

Contrary to this plagiarism, Arthur Golding's English translation of his *Mythologia ethica* was something that Freitag would have welcomed very much. As we shall see, there are even reasons to believe that Freitag personally gave his Latin text to Golding.

⁴⁰ Although less subtle than Gheeraerts's frontispiece for the *Mythologia ethica*, the *Viridarium*'s one is clearly influenced by it: here the whole thematic set-up is borne by the lion as the king of all beasts and one finds, at both sides, the two strongest animals, the elephant and the camel, and the same cat and monkey couple.

⁴¹ Title according to Barnes, 34, who quotes a letter by Dick. As far as I know there is only one existing copy of the pamphlet, at the Harvard University Library (Widener Library), which I have very unfortunately not been able to see because it is at present missing.

We do not know why Golding never brought his translation out into print.⁴² The only thing that has survived is an autograph of his translation,⁴³ now at the library of Columbia University. This is an interesting document, not only because it tells us something about Golding's early translations, but also because it gives us insight into the context of the *Mythologia ethica*.

Field (pp. 80-87) demonstrates by means of a thorough analysis of Golding's style in comparison with Freitag's Latin that Golding proceeds in his usual way:⁴⁴ his translation is accurate and close to the Latin original, but the complex syntactic structure of Freitag's Latin sentences has been simplified, he does not copy Freitag's Greek terms, and he is quite successful in finding English equivalents of Freitag's proverbial material (the adagium 'dum charybdim evitare conantur, in Scyllam peioresque scopulos incidunt', for example, is translated as 'leapt owt of the Fryingpan intoo the Fyre').⁴⁵

There is however a strange thing about this translation. Although, in general, the translation is very accurate, it contains a number of strange and flagrant errors, which mostly concern the identity of the animal protagonists: bittern ('bution') for buzzard ('buteo'), slave ('servus') for deer ('cervus'), woodpecker ('picus') for magpie ('pica'), turtle for snail (both 'testudo'). These errors can only be explained by admitting the possibility that Golding

⁴² Why was Golding's translation never printed? Once Golding had finished his translation, its publication was no longer opportune because the political situation had changed in two ways. First of all, Queen Elizabeth's interest in Dutch affairs had weakened since the failure of Leicester's mission to the Low Countries and Sidney's death in a skirmish of the Dutch war, before Zutphen, in 1587. And the book, because of its illustrations, was unmistakably Flemish. That is why another English emblem book with a Dutch background, Whitney's *A choice of emblems*, only knew a single edition (Leiden, 1586). The other reason is the implicit political message of Freitag's book, especially in the opening fables. Whereas in the early eighties the English reader could interpret this message as an anti-Spanish satire, some years later it could be used against the growing absolutism of Queen Elizabeth herself.

⁴³ For the rather obscure history of the manuscript, see Field, 4 ff., and Barnes, 35 ff. The manuscript has only been known since an unrecorded London auction in 1930. In the late thirties it was discovered to be a Golding autograph. It was only in the late sixties that Dick discovered that Freitag was Golding's source. See also David G. Hale, 'The Source and Date of Golding's 'Fabeltalk'', *Modern Philology*, 69 (1972) no. 4, 326.

⁴⁴ The manuscript provides us a good example of the way Golding translates. Field (p. 79) quotes Golding's own description of his method of translation:

Great care hath been taken, by forming and deryying of fit names and terms, out of the fountaynes of our tongue, though not altogether most usual, yet alwaies conceyvable and casie to be understood; rather than by usurping the Latin terms, or by borrowing the words of any foreign language, lest the matters which in some cases are mysticall enough of themselves by reason of their own profoundness might have been made more obscure to the unlearned, by setting them downe in terms utterly unknown to them.

⁴⁵ Field (p. 183) notes: 'This is one of the more striking examples of Golding's Anglicizing of his Latin source because the classical proverb was well-known in English, i.e., 'Between Scylla and Charibdis'.

had not seen Gheeraerts's illustrations and therefore worked from a manuscript. Another argument supporting the theory that Golding used a manuscript is given by Field (p. 87-88): Golding appears quite often to misread the reference numbers of Freitag's Bible quotations,⁴⁶ which could indicate that the manuscript was difficult to decipher.

Now, from whom did Golding receive this manuscript? If Golding had received the text from Gheeraerts (as Barnes supposes, pp. 27 and 34), he certainly would have had a printed copy with Gheeraerts's illustrations. Therefore the most plausible explanation is that the manuscript was given to him by Freitag himself during his stay in England in 1579, that is to say just before the printing of the *Mythologia ethica* (which is why he could not offer Golding a printed copy of his work). Maybe Freitag did this on the instigation of Galle, who may have wanted to publish an English edition of the collection after the Dutch, French and Latin ones. But it is also possible that Freitag contacted Golding on his own initiative. For, despite their age difference, the two men were spiritually related: they were both Protestants and translators, and they were both to go on to translate some of Duplessis-Mornay's works.

Imitating Freitag: the Case of Vondel's Vorsteliicke Warande

In 1617 the great Dutch poet Joost van den Vondel published a Dutch verse adaptation of the *Esbatement moral*, under the title *Vorsteliicke Warande der dieren* (Royal garden of the animals). His printer, Dirk Pietersz. Pers had acquired (how precisely is unknown) Marcus Gheeraerts's copperplates. Vondel's *Warande* offers a perfect example of 'selective imitation': although he follows the French text quite faithfully, there are numerous borrowings from other related fable collections, namely De Dene's *Warachtighe fabulen der dieren*, Anthoni Smyters's *Sinryke fabulen* (1604), which is an unillustrated Dutch translation of the *Esbatement*; Egidius Sadcl[e]er's *Theatrum morum* (1609), a German adaptation of the *Esbatement* for which Sadeleer himself made very precise, but reversed copies of Gheeraerts's illustrations; and also Freitag's *Mythologia ethica*. Since in other articles I have outlined Vondel's debts to De Dene, Sadeleer and Smyters, let us now consider the case of Freitag.

The presence of the *Mythologia ethica* in the *Warande* is difficult to pinpoint, since one must check every possible correspondence between the two collections against the four other collections. In several cases it is hard to

⁴⁶ Golding does not seem to have checked Freitag's Bible quotations: according to Field (88) the English translations 'are Golding's own, independent of any English Bible'.

decide if the analogy is due to pure chance or not. Here follows a non-exhaustive list⁴⁷ of correspondences between Vondel and Freitag which are absent in De Dene, the *Eshatement*, Smyters and Sadeleer:

Vondel, Fable II: op den gezetten dag II: Te recht zy beesten zijn die blindelingh dus volgen	Freitag, page 4: praestito die 4: ac vere eo quo appellamini digna nomine, bestia
V: Die baerden t'eender dracht tvvee kind'ren haers gelijken zotte liefde	14: Gemellos cum simius haberet foetu [the other versions do not mention twins] 15: Insanus amor
VI: Heeft u <i>Apollo</i> hier tot myvvaerts vvillen sturen! / O <i>Aesculapi</i> komt uytmeneste Doctoer! Die andren 'tmet voor-spand oft eenen kuyl bereyd, / Eer langh zelfs inden strick oft inden afgrond leyd.	16: Opportune, ait, ades optatiss. Medicorum; & commodum te mihi pater Apollo misit Aesculapium [...] In scrobem incidant, quam alteri effoderunt.
X: K'en vveet by vvat gheval de Leeuw [...]	24: Leo nescio qua fortuna [...]
XI: De sturen Boreas	26: nimbosus Boreas [the other versions do not mention 'Boreas']
XVI: vroemoer [...] Minne-moer	36 the wolf pretends succesively to be a midwife and a nurse. This twofold guile is absent in the other versions.
XXI: t' <i>Serpent en Aembeelt</i> XXI: Hceft het van 't aembeelt tot een antwoord dit verworven	48: <i>Serpentis et Incydis</i> ⁴⁸ 48: huiusmodi ab incude responsum refert
XXXIII: Besprengende met bloed en vochtigheyd de grazen den hane-kam oft pluymen op te steken	76: iliisque ac sanguine humo asperso 76: arroganter cristas erigere ⁴⁹
LXXI: <i>Den buyck en heeft geen</i>	174: venter aures non habeat

⁴⁷ In order to find those correspondences I have systematically analysed the first thirty-seven pages of the *Mythologia ethica* (fables I-XVIII). The other correspondences (from page 38 on) I found in a non-systematic way (see the following notes).

⁴⁸ The *Eshatement* has 'file' (*lime*) not 'anvil'. See my article 'The Viper and the File'.

⁴⁹ Examples found by Sylvia van Zanen and Annemieke Lengton (seminars on Aesopian fables, Leiden, 1992 and 2000).

ooren [Vondel's italics]	
XCV: een der <i>Vvater-slanghen</i>	226: natrix
CXXV: <i>Godtsdienst des Oyevaers</i>	250: Ciconiae religio
Het vvieroock dat hij eyscht op zijn gevvijde altaren	250: Thura ei adolearnus ⁵⁰

The presence of Freitag in Vondel's *Warande* is especially visible in the eighteen fables with which the *Esbatement moral* fills out De Dene and Gheeraerts's original collection. This is, understandably, most often the case in the morals of these fables, since the morals in the collections by Sadeleer, Smyters and those in the *Esbatement moral* are fairly brief. Opening the book, one notes that the first two fables of Vondel's *Warande* are the same as the first two fables of the *Mythologia*, which do not figure in De Dene's collection: here follow Vondel's morals with the corresponding texts by Freitag (cited in the modern English translation by Golding-Barnes) and, in the notes, the corresponding morals in the three other fable books:

Vondel, Fable I: 'Onzaligh is het land, daer van een vvoest vevvaten / Ondraeghlijck vvreed Tyran verheert zijn d'ondersaten. / Hy zuypst haer 't vleesh en 't bloed, en knaegt tot op 't gebeent / T'versteken overschot der schameler gemeent'	Freitag, Fable I: 'This fable fitteth the devourers of their people, which, like unto horseleeches, do suck out the blood of their subjects with so sore exactions that nothing is resorbed to the silly wretched souls, save only skin and bones' ⁵¹
Fable II: 'Geluckich is de man, die uyt een rijp beraet / Van s'Princen tyrannije en wreetheyd 't net ontgaet. / Die uyt t'gevaer zich houd van stricken opgehangen / Daer't arme slechte volck te licht zich in laet vangen'	Fable II: 'This present fable commendeth the discretion of such as by timely advisement eschew the enticing tyranny of wicked Princes (whereby the silly people [misera plebecula] alas too easily [heu nimium facile] been entrapped) and

⁵⁰ As is pointed out by Myrthe van Pijpen in an unpublished paper (seminar on Vondel, Leiden 1999), Freitag and Vondel are the only ones who speak of the stork's religion and who use the image of incense.

⁵¹ *Esbatement*: 'L'exacteur faict tirer le povre tout ainsi / Qui n'a rien que les os, toutefois sans mercy / Il y cherche à manger, tant est insatiable'.

Smyters: 'De Boeren-schender ooc den armen alzo doet, / Hy knaeghtse tot den been, verteert hun vleesch en bloet, / En nimmermeer en rust met schatting hen te plagen'. (Close parallels with Vondel, but without the explicit mention of the ruler and his subjects).

Sadeleer (p. 63): 'Tyrannisch Herren halten auch / Gegen den Armen dicsen Brauch / Daß sie die hart schaden und schinden / Biß man kein Marck in Bein thut finden'.

so escape the snares [casses] wherein most men are caught. ⁵²

Imitating Freitag: the Case of Philip Ayres's Mythologia Ethica

More than a century after its first publication, the English emblem poet and translator Philip Ayres⁵³ made extensive use of Freitag's collection in a work of his own, beginning with an identical title: *Mythologia ethica, or, Three Centuries of Aesopian Fables in English prose, Done from Aesop, Phaedrus, Camerarius, and all other Eminent Authors on this Subject* (London, 1689). Ayres explicitly labels his work an 'Anthology of Fables', 'intended [...] for the benefit of such as have not the Skill to search for them in their several Languages, from whence I fetched them' (Dedication to Mr. Lewis Maydwell). It is striking that of the 'eminent Authors' Ayres follows, the two most important are *not* mentioned, *i.e.* Freitag and Jean de La Fontaine.⁵⁴ Ayres's debt to Freitag is only indicated allusively and cursorily: 'And another author says excellently [...]' (I, 73). The same goes for La Fontaine, dissimulated as 'a French Poet' (p. 98) or even: 'And so the French saying is: "Quiconque est Loup, agesse [!] en Loup / C'est le plus cartain [!] de beaucoup"' (p. 140).⁵⁵ La Fontaine's massive presence in Ayres's anthology, however, is easily detected because the illustrations in the collection are exclusively based on the ones François Chauveau made for La Fontaine, and not on the ones Gheeraerts made.⁵⁶

⁵² *Esbatement*: 'O qu'il est advisé qui n'est de compagnie / Attrapé finement dessous la tyrannie, / Couverte de douceur, d'un prince cauteleux'. Smyters: 'Och hy is vvel bedacht die hem niet en laet vinden / By die met zoetichcyt, door haren Prince loos, / Zijn onder t'oc ghebracht van tyrannije boos'. Sadeleer (p. 65): 'Darumb gieb acht auff deine Weg / So kompst du nicht auff Unglücks Steg'.

⁵³ Philip Ayres is an important but virtually unknown author. As far as I know, the only substantial article devoted to him is Bart Westerweel's 'Philip Ayres and the Love Emblem Tradition', in: *idem* (ed.), *Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Field of the Emblem* (Leiden, 1997) 189-212.

⁵⁴ Ayres's use of La Fontaine seems to go unnoticed among scholars of English literature. In fact, Ayres is the first translator of La Fontaine (*contra* Mark Loveridge, *A History of Augustan Fable* (Cambridge, 1998) 168-172, who claims John Dennis's English paraphrase of La Fontaine (1692) to be the first one).

⁵⁵ The two exclamation marks indicate Ayres's (or his printer's) flagrant misspellings in citing La Fontaine.

⁵⁶ It is sometimes hard to decide which model Ayres's anonymous illustrator followed. Compare for instance the Ayres illustration of fable I, 61 to the illustration of Freitag's fable 54: only the attitude of Jupiter, sitting on a cloud with his legs crossed, is a decisive argument for pointing to Chauveau, and not Gheeraerts, as the real source. This warrants the conclusion that, rather curiously, Ayres's anonymous illustrator does not seem to have known Gheeraerts's illustrations.

Freitag's presence in Ayres's collection is much more difficult to detect, especially because Ayres does not always translate literally, but sometimes rather freely paraphrases his sources, and often mixes them. Therefore, for some well-known fables like 'The Jay stripped' (I, 39) or 'The sick Kite' (I, 52), it is impossible to establish the precise sources, if there are any. There are however an important number of fables where Freitag's influence seems more certain. A first category which can be distinguished includes those fables which are known only from the emblematic fable tradition as internationalised by the *Esbatement moral* and Freitag's *Mythologia ethica*. In most of these fables, Freitag's influence is recognizable because Ayres's English stays relatively close to Freitag's Latin.⁵⁷

Another category includes those fables which are easily recognizable as coming from Freitag because Freitag's Latin is quoted literally, with or without translation.⁵⁸ These quotations mostly concern (parts of) the moral, the motto and/or Freitag's Bible quotations. Curiously, when citing Freitag's Bible quotations Ayres never informs his reader on their biblical origin although Freitag, as we have seen, is very precise in indicating his biblical sources. Often things are more problematic, because Ayres's imitation is not only 'dissimulative' in not mentioning its sources, but also 'selective'. Just as Vondel or La Fontaine did, Ayres regularly uses several sources to compose his fables. Here follow some interesting cases of selective imitation in which Freitag's *Mythologia ethica* plays a major role. In fables III, 32, III, 84 and III, 92, the main source is La Fontaine (all these fables are illustrated), but Ayres inserts into them some Latin quotations from Freitag. The opening sentence of fable I, 61, 'The Frogs choosing a king', illustrates how complex things are: Ayres's sentence 'Whether under an *Anarchy* or *Democracy*, I will not positively affirm' is an exact translation of Freitag's Latin, whereas the rest of the fable text more closely follows La Fontaine's version. Fable III, 70, 'The Horse and the Wolf' is illustrated, and indeed follows La Fontaine's version. The fable contains, however, a citation from the moral of Freitag's closely related fable 'The Horse and the Lion', and Ayres also puts the comical flattery of Freitag's horse into the mouth of La Fontaine's horse: 'Most opportunely [...] has *Appollo* sent then his son, another *esculapium*'.

⁵⁷ Specimens of this category are *The Hart, the Sheep and the Wolf* (I, 2), *The Wolf and the Lamb* (I, 26: Ayres gives here a personal interpretation to the fable which dissembles Freitag's), *The Ass, the Ox, the Mule and the Camel* (I, 70), *The Hog and the Horse* (I, 97), *The Swan and the Stork* (II, 16), *The Smith and his Dog* (II, 82), *The Carter and his Horse* (III, 2), *The Basilisk and the Weasel* (III, 30), *Monkey, Cat and Chestnuts* (III, 57), *The Hedge-Hog and the Viper* (III, 85).

⁵⁸ Fables that fit in this category are the following: I, 59; I, 60; I, 63; I, 69; I, 73; II, 65; III, 28; III, 32; III, 38; III, 53, III, 92.

Ayres's important reflections on fable writing (all three centuries are preceded by a theoretical preface) also seem at times to be inspired by Freitag. Asserting that

And our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ whilst he was here on Earth, conversing among men, did he not also express himself in Parables. Which were no other than Fables, prudently invented, for con[vert?] a stubborn, and unbeleiving People. [...] Now these things being full of Mysteries, and Jesus Christ being the Truth itself, we must believe that Fables, which he thought convenient to make use of, were the proper Characters of Truth.

Ayres probably has in mind Freitag's phrase:

There is no dispute concerning the dignity of fables and similitudes (for these are one and the same thing) since the mediator himself between God and men, Christ, God and man, repulsed, broke down, instructed, and taught by means of parables and examples the wanton stubbornness of the Jews, the perfidy of the Gentiles, the stupidity of the crowd [...] (trans. Field, p. 40).

Conclusion

Freitag's collection was widely read far into the seventeenth century. The *Mythologia's* rich afterlife, illustrated by the cases of Ayres, Golding, Vondel and maybe La Fontaine,⁵⁹ demonstrates that from the early seventeenth century on, the collection was read principally *for its texts*, and not as a collection of *emblematic fables* (as was the original idea Freitag and Galle had in mind). This finding however does not diminish the intrinsic qualities of the book, nor its literary impact on other fable collections.

⁵⁹ In his *Préface*, the French fabulist uses similar phrasing in defining the divine nature of the Aescopian fable: '[...] nous voyons que la Vérité a parlé aux hommes par paraboles; et la parabole est-elle autre chose que l'apologue, c'est-à-dire un exemple fabuleux [...]?'.

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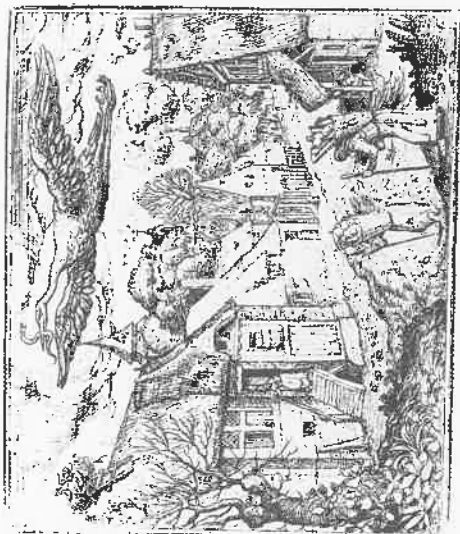
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De longhen moeten zaen,
D'ouders gheerne by staen.



Eccle. 5.

O Ntfacht die ouderdom van vwen Vaders
Ende en bedrouft hem niet in zijn leuen,
Eist dat zijn verlande hem begheeft: Coetgezadere;
Mefprijt hem niet, willet dat oude verghen.

Eccle. 7.

Vader Moeder eerdt, ghedijnt dat ghy nieren waert
blae dat door hemleden v gheboorte zy
Zoo zy v ghesien hebben wte: heiden zart.
Inghelice: zult g' zoo wederom in noot: staen by.

Vanden ouden Houaere.



Du en al
Just archiefde del
van die ym inder voghden gheda
d'houere

Jac egerbaere
Als in natuerlike liefde prificta
waer: Jonghen elcens
beredende ghene?
staer int ghene
Als bin meficta prificta

E Wapende dat y afen prificta
vooghtich wificta
Zouen inder ghediche vghen
Gede als vghen van onder ghedich
En tranen te wighen faden ym waghden
waer des bejourende in allen waghden
vghen van vooghtich verregghen
vghen ghedich
waer: Jonghen kene waer: alle facyden:
Zou vghen waer: fghen
De fonghen waghden: zoo y vghen haddem ym durt.

E Tghelike tamen bewijf, de meficta waghden
Beoude te ym te bare ghedich
Dan inderlike bewijf, om fater en Meure
Dyamt te deene in moel: beuagghen:
Pm: d'ym y: fater hebben onfghen:
Beuagghen om beuagghen te beuagghen onfghen:
d'ym: vghen inder: vghen:
End den fghen ghedich onfghen beuagghen.

G



Figure 1: [Eduard de Dene and Marcus Gheeraerts], *De warachtghe fabulen der dieren* (Bruges: Pieter de Clerck, 1567) 'Vanden ouden Houare'.

La vieille Cigoigne.

SONET.

A V monde n'est Oiseau qui ait vn tel souci.
 De fleur ses petits, d'un amour favorable,
 Que la Cigoigne fait, tant elle est pitoyable,
 Comme en les nourrissant bien elle monstre aussi.

Car si foigneux devoit elle fait en ceci,
 Qu'à ses ieunes en laisse exemple memorable,
 Pour bien se fouvenir à faire le semblable,
 Et qu'on doit au besoin s'aider l'un l'autre ainsi,

Les ieunes retenans l'amiable nature

De leur pere & leur mere, ils prennent aussi cure

A les entretenir, quand en vicillesse ils font.

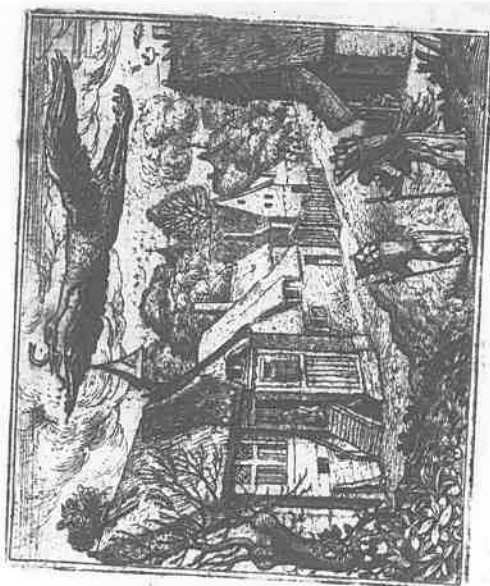
La personne doit bien faire toute assistance

A pere & mere, alors qu'ils en ont indigence,

Veu que des Oiseaux (mesme) à leurs parens le font.

E. VV.

On doit aider à pere & mere. 121



*Le pere du zelle se refonit de ioye : & celuy qui a engendré le sage se re-
 jouit en veuey. P. 10. 2. 3. 14.*

Figure 2: *Esbat[ement] moral, des animaux* (Antwerp: Gerard Smits for Philips Galle, 1578) 'La vieille Cigoine'. University Library Amsterdam.

34. CICONIAE DECREPITAE.

CICONIA omnium quæ crepusculis terrarum
ambitus ac flatus illius aeris polagis alio autum
sole cunctis in pulis suis educandis reliquas rura
atq. industria, ac recipiendi quondam pietatē
de suis experitur, insigni exēplo mortales sui erga
seuicem officij, ubi res & necessitas posulant,
admonet; confundit autem pullos gratitudi-
nis cunctis admirandam parandigna; plurimo-
rum dominum, huc fundamēti structuram: nam
ad id religiosi natura legi parentum sollicitudine
seque obsequium, ut in hi consueverunt, singu-
larem nullāq. satis poena expiendum in ipso re-
cessuatur Republ. curam eorum abierit et legi-
slatorem non solentur. ita sē, cui dicitur ad huc im-
plures ac imbecillis corpore factus a parentibus nō
negligentur, neq. hi cunctis ab in quibus con-
tinu spartiti sunt, nulla ipso impetio sedula ce-
rā pietate ad hunc artem, cōstatē ignatū.

Modo et pos rationis lenius vrbani ciconi pa-
rentū curā suscipere, neq. hos inopia aut lenis pios
deserere, & qui noxam sollicitū hanc lucē produxe-
runt, alacrit. gratū animi affectū deficientes subleuare.

Vica-

45. VICARIA PROLIUM AC PARENTUM
PIETAS.

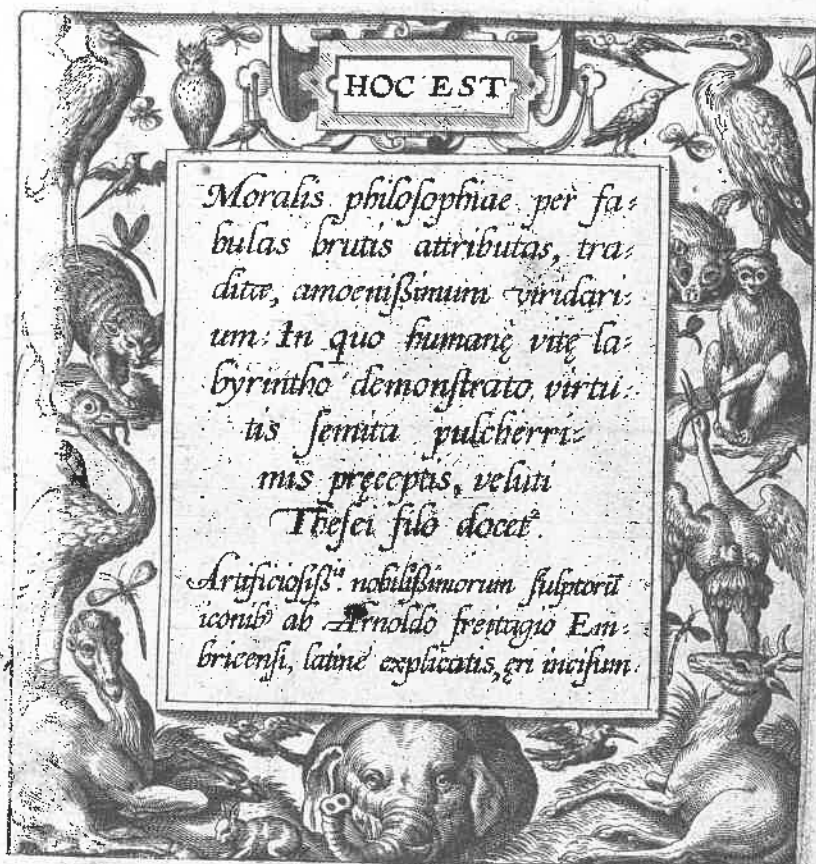


Exultat gaudio pater iusti: quæ sapientem genuit,
lætabitur in eo. Præf. 23, 24.

Q. 2. A51.

Figure 3: Arnoldus Freitag, *Mythologia ethica* [...] (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin for Philips Galle, 1579) 'Ciconiae decrepitae'.

MYTHOLOGIA ETHICA,



ANTVERPIÆ,
Philippo Gallæo Christophorus Plantinus excudebat.
M. D. LXXIX.

Figure 4: Arnoldus Freitag, *Mythologia ethica* [...] (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin for Philips Galle, 1579) title page. Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections.

Joachim Camerarius's *Symbolorum & Emblematum Centuriae Quatuor*: From Natural Sciences to Moral Contemplation

JAN PAPY

The *Symbola et emblemata* of the Nuremberg physician and botanist Joachim Camerarius jr. (Nuremberg, 6 November 1534 – *ibidem*, 11 October 1598), the older son of the great Greek scholar and humanist Joachim Camerarius sr. (1500-1574)¹, have deservedly attracted scholarly attention from both literary scholars and cultural historians. In an elucidating way various important aspects of Camerarius's emblematic collection and its impact have already been focused on and put into their proper perspective by scholars such as Frederick John Stopp², Wolfgang Harms³, William B. Ashworth jr.⁴ and Ingrid Müller.⁵ In these studies most emphasis has rightly been laid on Camerarius's

¹ On Camerarius sr. one see Frans Baron (ed.), *Joachim Camerarius (1500-1574). Beiträge zur Geschichte des Humanismus im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Munich, 1978); Fritz Stahlin, 'Humanismus und Reformation im bürgerlichen Raum: eine Untersuchung der biographischen Schriften des Joachim Camerarius', *Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte*, 159 (1936) 1-107; H. Helbig, 'Die Reformation der Universität Leipzig im 16. Jahrhundert', *Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte*, 171 (1953) 1-143; H. Rössler, 'Joachim Camerarius. Ein Leben für die deutsche Hochschule', in: *Fränkischer Geist deutsches Schicksal, 1500-1800* (1954) 166-176; and Stephan Kunkler, *Zwischen Humanismus und Reformation: der Humanist Joachim Camerarius (1500-1574) im Wechselspiel von pädagogischem Pathos und theologischem Ethos* [Theologische Texte und Studien, 8] (Hildesheim, 2000).

² *The Emblems of the Altdorf Academy: Medals and Medal Orations 1577-1626* [Publications of the Modern Humanities Research Association, 6] (London, 1974).

³ Wolfgang Harms, 'On Natural History and Emblems in the 16th Century', in: Allan Ellenius (ed.), *The Natural Sciences and the Arts. Aspects of Interaction from the Renaissance to the 20th Century. An International Symposium* [Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Figura Nova Series, 22] (Uppsala, 1985) 67-83, and his facsimile-edition, edited together with Ulla-Britta Kuechen, *Joachim Camerarius, Symbola et Emblemata (Nuremberg 1590 bis 1604). Mit Einführung und Registern [...]* [Naturalis Historia Bibliae. Schriften zur biblischen Naturkunde des 16.-18. Jahrhunderts, 2/1-2], 2 vols. (Graz, 1986-1988).

⁴ 'Natural History and the Emblematic World View', in: David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Westman (eds.), *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge, 1990) 303-332 and 'Emblematic Natural History of the Renaissance', in: N. Jardine, J. A. Secord, E. C. Spary (eds.), *Cultures of Natural History* (Cambridge, 1996) 17-37.

⁵ 'Camerarius: *Symbola et Emblemata* — Zwischen Emblematik und Naturwissenschaft', in: *Sinnbild-Bildsinn. Emblembücher der Stadtbibliothek Trier* [Ausstellungskataloge Trierer Bibliotheken, 22] (Trier, 1991) 51-57. In addition, one see the various short accounts in Gregor Martin Lechner (ed.), *Emblemata: zur barocken Symbolsprache: 26. Ausstellung des Graphischen Kabinetts und der Stiftsbibliothek, Jahresausstellung 15. Mai bis 26. Oktober 1977*

involvement with natural sciences and his unique position between emblematics and natural history and botanics.

This combination of emblematics and natural history, can partly be traced back to Camerarius's former education and intellectual and religious background. Having been educated first by his father in Nuremberg, Camerarius was sent to the Gymnasium of Schulpforta and continued medical studies in Wittenberg, where he lived with Melanchthon, and in Leipzig. After a two-year break in Breslau, where he had been the guest of Johannes Crato von Krafftheim, Emperor Maximilian's court physician, he went to Padua and Bologna, where he obtained the degree of Doctor Medicinae on 27 July 1562. He practised as a physician in his home town Nuremberg, where he was appointed town physician in 1564 and, somewhat later on, court physician of the Bamberg prince bishop Veit of Würzburg. Due to his successful efforts to reorganize Nuremberg's health care together with his colleagues Volcker Coiter and Georg Palma, he was also appointed Dean of the newly founded Collegium Medicum in 1592.

In addition Camerarius was highly esteemed as a botanist. Not only did he correspond with prominent botanists such as Caspar Bauhin, Adolph Occo, Conrad Gesner, Ulisse Aldrovandi and Carolus Clusius, he also acted as botanical advisor for landgrave Wilhelm IV from Hessen-Kassel and he described a botanical garden in his *Hortus medicus et philosophicus*, published at Frankfurt on the Main in 1588. In this work he already successfully combined botanical descriptions with 'philological' explanations, using classical and biblical quotations.⁶ Moreover, he used his philological skills for Latin and German commentaries on the editions of Dioscorides by the Italian physician Pietro Andrea Mattioli. In 1586 *De plantis epitome utilissima* was published in Frankfurt on the Main together with the Kreuterbuch, his German translation of Dioscorides's herbal. Camerarius himself illustrated both works, using Conrad Gesner's manuscript of the *Historia plantarum*, and Mattioli's *Commentarii in libros sex Pedanii Dioskoridis de materia medica* of 1554.⁷

(Stift Göttingen, 1977) 25-28, no. 12; Jean-Marc Chatelain, *Livres d'emblèmes et de devises: une anthologie (1531-1735)* (Paris, 1993) 89, and Gilbert Heß, 'Joachim Camerarius: Symbolorum & emblematum [...] centuria tertia. a.O. 1596', in: Wolfgang Harms, Gilbert Heß, Dietmar Peil and Jürgen Donien (eds.), *SinnbilderWelten: Emblematische Medien in der frühen Neuzeit. Katalog der Ausstellung in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München 11.8. - 1.10.1999* (Munich, 1999) 11, no. 8 and *passim*.

⁶ Harms and Kuechen, 'Einführung', 4*.

⁷ Wolf-Dieter Müller-Jahncke, 'Camerarius d. J., Joachim', in: Walther Killy (ed.), *Literatur Lexikon: Autoren und Werke deutscher Sprache* (Gütersloh, 1989), 2, 350-351.

The Book of Nature

Camerarius, however, not only acquired Gesner's manuscripts, he also shared his esteem for the literary and moral interpretation of natural phenomena.⁸ In his emblematic collection *Symbola et emblemata*, published in four separate *Centuriae* between 1593 and 1604⁹, he not only concentrated on plants, quadrupeds, flying animals and insects, and aquatic animals respectively, thus aiming at a systematic study of natural phenomena. In a way similar to Gesner he also transformed his knowledge of science into a moral contemplation of nature's purpose ('*physica contemplatio*'). His four *Centuriae* thus covered the whole field of natural history and had been arranged along scientific lines. The reason why Camerarius started the first part with plants is as simple as it is revealing: because of their a-sexual character they are the most pure creations in God's Creation. In the dedicatory letter of his second *Centuria*, Camerarius explains why he chooses physical and natural phenomena as his starting point: The order and beautiful plan and distinction of the parts, and the fine connection of the whole world as if it were a body, constitute the human wisdom above all and make it firm; they also greatly move and excite to admire, to worship and celebrate the Creator himself.¹⁰

Originating from this unique botanical and Christian humanist laboratory, Camerarius's emblems call for an appropriate and well balanced interpretation which takes into account both his systematic study of natural phenomena and his humanist background. For, ultimately, his knowledge of natural science and his use of historical examples converge in the inculcation of just conduct – connecting the *Theatrum mundi* and the *Theatrum sapientiae*. Camerarius's letter of dedication of the first *Centuria* to Jacobus Kurz à Senftenau, head chancellor of the Empire, clarifies his reasons for this new emblematic cocktail:

There can be no doubt that the souls of men will be advised in the first place by such a compendious and at the same time ingenious teaching, and that they will be instructed in various ways as well. For in this way

⁸ See Harms, 'On Natural History and Emblematics in the 16th Century', 69-71.

⁹ The title-page of the first volume shows 1590 explicitly, although Camerarius's letter of dedication to Jacobus Curtius a Senftenau bears the date 1593. See also Harms and Kuechen, 'Einführung', 5* and 39*, notes 14-15.

¹⁰ See Joachim Camerarius, *Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera* (Nuremberg, 1595) fol. A3r: 'Ordo profecto et concinna adeo ratio ac distinctio partium, et totius quasi corporis huius mundi tam pulchra coagmentatio humanam potissimum sapientiam constituunt atque stabiliunt, et ad Creatorem ipsum suspiciendum, colendum celebrandumque magnopere movent atque excitant'.

moral precepts, packed up in certain wrappers and artistic inventions, are indeed impressed more easily and even in a better way (especially with the common people), the more because at once even qualities of wonderful natural things and memorable events from history are explained with various examples.¹¹

As a sort of natural catalogue, Camerarius's collections of emblems thus reflect nature's rich variety. He does not omit to introduce new discoveries of the New World such as the peony (emblem I, 62), fritillary (I, 72) or day lily (I, 91), recounted by contemporary botanists. At the same time Camerarius's collections call for a reading of nature as an immense mosaic of emblems which the Creator has left to mankind as a testimony of his omnipresence and creative power. As such, the *res significans* of his emblems ('Bild') seem to run parallel to the botanical and zoological treatises of his time, while they have been given a poetical, theological and moral *res significata* ('Bedeutung'). If emblem III, 60 'Sit sine labe fides' ('May love be without a stain') representing two doves pulling Venus's chariot, is a clear example of the traditional poetical symbol of marital fidelity going back to Vergil and Ovid¹², emblem II, 24 'In utrumque paratus' ('Fitted to both') offers a case in which Camerarius's religious message is grafted onto his scientific subject: the emblem represents an ox between a plough and an altar. In antiquity the ox has commonly been used as a sacrificial animal, whereas it likewise symbolizes agriculture. The ox, so the motto reveals, is both prepared to labour on the field and to die in sacrifice. As the picture shows, the ox runs in the direction of the altar, thus indicating that it follows God's will. The epigram, finally, reiterates that man should resign to his fate and follow God's will:

Ferre jugum, jugulumque dare, est bos aptus utrinque,
Sic pia turba facit, grata Deo referens.

(To bear the yoke, to present the throat, the ox is fitted to both,
The pious crowd acts alike when it gives thanks to God).

¹¹ See Joachim Camerarius, *Symbolorum et emblematum ex re herbaria desumptorum centuria una* (Nuremberg, 1590) fol. A2r-A2v: 'Nec ulli dubium esse potest per ejusmodi compendiosam ac simul ingeniosam doctrinam animos hominum inprimis moneri, ac multis modis instrui. Nam haerent profecto, (praesertim apud vulgus) hac ratione sub quibusdam involucris et artificiosis inventionibus praecepta de virtute ac bonis moribus eo facilius ac melius, quod simul etiam rerum Naturalium proprietates admiratione dignae, nec non rerum gestarum memorabiles eventus variis exemplis exponantur'.

¹² Cf. Vergilius, *Aeneis*, VI, 193; Ovidius, *Metamorphoses*, XIV, 597-598.

A clear example of an emblem bearing an overall moral meaning, finally, is offered in emblem I, 13 (*Copia me perdit*; 'Riches ruin me'). Warning his readers against the dangers of *luxus* and *voluptas* by quoting a hemistich from the *Carmina priapea*, Camerarius iterates Seneca in his prose commentary that 'branches break down under too heavy a load'.

If one focuses on Camerarius's combination of the *res significans* and the poetical, theological and moral *res significata*, his predilection for *variatio* is obvious and understandable. Two major types can be discerned here: first there is the *res significans* which is mentioned in the Latin epigram and which can actually be seen on the image (e.g. figures 4, 6, 7 and 8); second, and conversely, the *res significans* can be seen on the image, but is not mentioned in the subsequent epigram (e.g. fig. 1, 2, 9). This *variatio*, for obvious reasons, supports a deliberate variation in structure.

Topical 'ordo' as a Principle of Structure in the Centuriae

As Wolfgang Harms has pointed out, the structure of Camerarius's 400 *Symbola et emblemata* has to be connected to its complex genesis. Initially Camerarius had devised 200 emblems in verbal and graphic form, whose *res* and *gesta* had been taken from entirely different areas, such as impresecollections of Claude Paradin and Luca Contile.¹³ It was but a selection of these 200 manuscript emblems which formed the basis of Camerarius's four printed *Centuriae* covering the whole field of natural history. For having made the order of nature ('ordo') the principle of his work, Camerarius started the first part with plants. At least since 1577 Camerarius had been involved in 'scientific taxonomy', the classification and description of plants; his choice to start with 'symbola [...] ex re herbaria' in the first *Centuria* also echoes his desire to work in an analogous way to contemporary botanists and zoologists such as Gesner and Aldrovandi.¹⁴

In these *Centuriae*, as has been demonstrated by Wolfgang Neuber¹⁵, Camerarius actually established an encyclopaedic system, in which the

¹³ Claude Paradin and Gabriele Simeoni, *Symbola heroica* (Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1562, 1563, 1567 and 1583); the work was first published in French as *Devises heroïques* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Gazeau, 1551, with several reprints); Luca Contile, *Ragionamento [...] sopra la proprietà delle imprese* (Pavia: G. Bartoli, 1574).

¹⁴ Wolfgang Harms, 'Bedeutung als Teil der Sache in zoologischen Standardwerken der frühen Neuzeit (Konrad Gesner, Ulisse Aldrovandi)', in: Bernd Moeller (ed.), *Die Wissenschaften im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen, 1988-1989).

¹⁵ Wolfgang Neuber, 'Locus, Lemma, Motto. Entwurf zu einer mnemonischen Emblematiktheorie', in: Jörg Jochen Berns und Wolfgang Neuber (eds.), *Ars Memorativa: Zur*

'lemma' of one emblem points to another emblem and in which this topical foundation also calls for Camerarius's *ekphrasis*, thus filling up each 'lemma' with a variety of argumentations or explanations. As the emblem collections of Nicolaus Taurellus or Gabriel Rollenhagen, Camerarius's four *Centuriae* thus have a specific mnemonic and systematic didactic purpose so as to reveal the order of nature by way of the Ramist/Lullist topical 'ordo'. Let us, by way of example, illustrate this topical use of different natural phenomena in the first forty emblems of the *Centuria prima* dealing with plants. It will be clear then how Camerarius, following his associations, moved from one emblem to another:

<i>Motto</i>	<i>Theme</i>
1. Si serenus illuxerit	trees, herbs, plants grow by the force of the sun/God.
2. Unde pluatur	Mercury or the force of our genius waters the laurel ('laura').
3. Prospiciente Deo	shoots ('surculi') grow into trees if conditions/God are/is favourable.
4. Virtus hinc maior	rosewood ('aspalathus') smells when a rainbow/divine grace appears.
5. Ardua virtutem	one needs to climb the mountain in order to collect the laurel and the palm.
6. Tanto uberius	an olive-tree bears more fruit after having been disbudded.
7. Nil mihi vobiscum est	the cypress repels moths (flatterers).
8. Haud aliter	the palm ('palma') only grows when surrounded by water and sunshine.
9. Mitte non promitte	contrary to the willow ('salicta') the fig-tree ('ficus') holds its promise.
10. Neglecta iuventus	the fruit-losing willow ('salix') loses its fruit before it has grown up.
11. Concussa uberior	the myrrh-tree ('myrrha') produces more myrrh when concussed by the wind.

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| 12. Rara iuvant | birdlime ('viscum') which is difficult to find, cures epilepsy. |
| 13. Copia me perdit | when loaded too heavily with fruit, a fruit-tree breaks. |
| 14. Nec incidi nec evelli | the olive-tree, symbol of peace, may not be cut nor be eradicated. |
| 15. Cunctando proficit | a mulberry-tree ('morus') only flourishes when other plants do. |
| 16. Ne rumperer | when torn into two parts the oak ('quercus') is held together by pliant twigs of the willow. |
| 17. Semper immota | a tree becomes stronger when exposed to wind. |
| 18. Ne moveas | a stinking bean-trefoil ('anagris') is not to be touched. |
| 19. Umbra tantum | the platane ('platanus') does not bear fruit, it only provides shade. |
| 20. Aurora musis amica | some plants, such as the queen's gilliflower ('Hesperis'), only smell during the night or in the morning. |
| 21. Vi frangitur, obsequio flectitur | branches ('rami') should not be broken but bended. |
| 22. Ingentia marmora findit | the wild fig-tree ('caprificus') can break through hard marble. |
| 23. Erit altera merces | there is either victory (the palm) or death (the cypress). |
| 24. Invidia integritatis asseccla | croaking frogs and water-snakes with their venomous tongues are harmful for palm-trees ('palma'). |
| 25. Per damna, per caedes | the holm-oak ('ilex') becomes stronger when lopped. |
| 26. Sic perire iuvat | by strangling a tree the ivy ('hedera') becomes itself a tree. |
| 27. Undique tutus | the cock prefers to salute the morning sun in the laurel-tree ('laurus'). |
| 28. Triumphali e stipite surgens | a laurel-tree ('laurus'), symbol of victory, may grow out of a trunk. |
| 29. Solum a sole | the citron-tree ('citria') only grows when sunlit. |

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| 30. Fragrat adustumincense | (thus) or myrrh ('myrrha') only smell when heathened by the sun. |
| 31. Nec dum cessat amor an | almond-tree ('amygdalus') has the turtle-dove as loyal companion. |
| 32. Opis indiga | a vine-sprout needs the support of the elm-tree ('ulmus') to bear fruit |
| 33. Vim ex vi | friction of wood causes fire. |
| 34. Amicus post mortem | also when the elm-tree is arid, the grapevine ('vitis') remains close to it |
| 35. Intacta virtus | the laurel ('laurus') is untouched by lightening. |
| 36. Vulnere vulnera sano | the healing balsam ('balsamum') drips down from the scarified bark |
| 37. Sic vos non vobis | the grapevine bears more and better fruit when supported by the laurel-tree. |
| 38. Modo Iupiter assit | the pine ('pinus') inserted in the olive-tree, devoted to Minerva or wisdom. |
| 39. Se sustinet ipsa | a straight vine ('orthampelos') grows without a support; it is content with itself. |
| 40. Sperare nefas | an oak full of acorn and a palm full of fruit symbolize the golden age; as God offers a golden age free an for nothing, both trees offer their fruit to mankind. |

Camerarius's printed emblem collection thus proves to be a careful scanning of nature's revelatory nature. His systematic exploration of nature's flora and fauna together with his decoding of its Creator's message in the Book of Nature constitute Camerarius's emblematic focus. Besides, in this scanning Camerarius shows himself a skillfully educated humanist scholar, for he practises the typical *ars excerpenti* in 'compiling' a true storehouse of details and anecdotes of any plant, quadruped, flying or aquatic animal from the ancient and contemporary botanical and zoological treatises by Aristotle, Theophrastus, Pliny, Dioscorides, Aelian and Oppianus, and Ulisse Aldrovandi, Conrad Gesner,

Pierre Belon, Guillaume Rondelet and Salviani.¹⁶ Camerarius, however, was not just digging up appropriate stories. Each plant or animal has been chosen deliberately, so as to exploit one or more of its characteristics in a suitable, visually, morally, or religiously oriented analogy. This *per analogiam*-procedure, in a sense similar to the technique used by fabulists such as Aesop or Phaedrus, offers him the opportunity to exploit the Book of Nature systematically and didactically. A simple look at the *auctoritates* used in his prose commentaries reveals Camerarius's humanist background and intentions: in addition to the authors already mentioned, a lot of botanical or zoological analogies or similes used by Plutarch, Cicero, Seneca, Ovid, Plato, Horace or patristic authors such as Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Chrysostom, Clement of Alexandria, St. Basil, St. Augustine and St. Jerome have been included in Camerarius's emblematic collection. Moreover, botanical or zoological similes used by authors dealing with hieroglyphs, emblems or imprese such as Alciato, Piero Valeriano¹⁷, Paolo Giovio¹⁸, Scipione Bargagli¹⁹, Achille Bocchi²⁰, Girolamo Ruscelli²¹, Claude Paradin and Luca Contile²² have been either taken up or adapted in Camerarius's *Centuriae*.

Another aspect which deserves attention here is the interference of Camerarius's friend, the Altdorf professor in Roman law Konrad Rittershausen (Rittershusius). It may suffice to give but one telling example of Rittershusius's involvement in the final composition of Camerarius's first *Centuria*. In addition to emblem I, 40, 'Sperare nefas' ('It is forbidden to hope'), the oak and its acorns rather traditionally referring to the *aurea aetas* – an image for which Rittershusius had already suggested to Camerarius a Christian interpretation of God offering grace and perfection in another life – Rittershusius put forward the insertion of the emblem on the eternal rebirth of nature at the very last place of the collection (viz. I, 100: 'Spes altera vitae'; 'Another hope for life') (fig. 1). In this way he gave the whole collection an

¹⁶ See Eugene Willis Gudger, 'The Five Great Naturalists of the Sixteenth Century: Belon, Rondelet, Salviani, Gesner and Aldrovandi: A Chapter in the History of Ichthyology', *Isis* 22 (1934-1935) 21-40, and Harms, 'On Natural History and Emblems in the 16th Century', 67-71.

¹⁷ Joannes Pierius Valerianus, *Hieroglyphicorum, ex sacris Aegyptiorum literis, libri octo* (Florence: [L. Torrentino], 1556; Basle: M. Isengrin, 1556); several (elaborated) reprints.

¹⁸ Paolo Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose* (Roma: A. Barre, 1555; Venice: G. Giolito de'Ferrari, 1556), and several reprints.

¹⁹ Scipione Bargagli, *La prima parte dell'Imprese [...]* (Siena: L. Bonetti, 1578; Venice, F. de'Franceschi, 1589; Venice: F. de'Franceschi, 1594).

²⁰ Achille Bocchi, *Symbolicarum quaestionum de universo genere, quas serio ludebat, libri quinque* (Bologna, 1555 and 1574). See the article on this collection by Anne Rolet elsewhere in this volume.

²¹ Girolamo Ruscelli, *Le imprese illustri con espositioni et discorsi* (Venice: F. Rampazetto, 1566); reprints in Venice in 1572, 1580 and 1584.

²² For both Paradin and Contile see note 13.

interpretatio christiana. Moreover, Camerarius's collection as a whole would equally echo Claude Paradin's *Symbola heroica* of 1562 in which the same emblem had been put at the very end: on Judgment Day, our corpses will resurrect to a new life as do the seeds which have been sown in the earth (1 Corinthians 15:42).

From Manuscript to Printed Centuriae

Wolfgang Harms's insistence on a confrontation of Camerarius's printed emblem collections with his previous manuscript designs for two *Centuriae* of emblems (with motto, *pictura* and prose commentary) is no cry for philological hairsplitting subtleties.²³ For it is a tempting question to see whether the composition of the manuscript collection, which is now preserved in the Stadtbibliothek Mainz, could help to explain the *ordo* established by Camerarius in the printed one, since both the time and perhaps also the circumstances of their composition are similar.

As regards the time of the composition, the title-page of the second manuscript *Centuria* gives the approximate date of composition, 1587²⁴, whereas the title-page of the first printed collection bears the date 1590 (contrary to the date of Camerarius's prefatory letter, 1 May 1593). Second, Frederick John Stopp has demonstrated Camerarius's involvement in the production of a series of class-medals for the Academy of Altdorf, a series which started as early as 1577 and which ended in 1626. Interestingly, these medals not only display an emblematic obverse for most of this period, inspired by Camerarius's manuscript designs of emblems, with a conventional, mainly textual reverse, they also have to be connected to the Altdorf emblematic oratory and humanist educational methods.²⁵

Yet, a closer look shows important differences with Camerarius's printed collections concerning meaning and *picturae* as well.²⁶ In the manuscript, Camerarius had already established a sort of irenic, supra-confessional programme. For this purpose he had used predominantly mythological and historical *res significantes*. His printed collections, conversely, reveal a remarkable though not absolute re-orientation of his initial point of view, for now only plants and animals are used as *res significantes*. So, the programmatic first emblem of the manuscript collection, for instance,

²³ Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. II, 366; see Harms and Kucchen, 'Einführung', 38*, n. 16.

²⁴ Harms and Kuechen, 'Einführung', 7*.

²⁵ F.J. Stopp, *The Emblems of the Altdorf Academy: Medals and Medal Orations 1577-1626* (London, 1974) 1-16.

²⁶ Harms and Kucchen, 'Einführung', 19*.

depicting the Old and New Testament under the Sun ('Regimen hinc animi'; 1, 1), has not been taken up again in the printed collection, whereas the last emblem of the second book, illustrating the eschatological theme 'Mors norma vitae optima' with the example of Hercules's virtue (2, 200), is only echoed in two final emblems of the printed collection, emblem I, 100, 'Spes altera vitae' ('Another hope for life'), and emblem III, 100, 'Ut vivat' ('So that he may live'). But still then Camerarius focuses exclusively on plants (corn) and animals (the Phoenix), not on the mythological example of Hercules or Phoenix.

Similarly, Camerarius's manuscript emblem 1, 13 depicting a well with a rope and one pail drawn up and presenting the characteristic device 'Motu clarior', did not fit into one of the natural orders of Camerarius's published emblems.²⁷ Further, it strikes the eye that Camerarius shared the fascination of his time for the rhinoceros's reputation for invincibility in emblem II, 4 'Non revertar inultus' ('That I may not return unavenged'; fig. 2). Once again his manuscript version of the rhinoceros deserves a closer look. Sharpening his horn on a rock before fighting and offering the device 'Amat victoria curam', it needs to be revealed that this motto, following Pliny's account, is normally used for the weasel gathering a sprig of rue as a prophylactic against snakes' venom²⁸ or the crane with a stone in raised claw.²⁹ Camerarius used the more pugnacious note in his printed collection.³⁰

It may therefore be clear by now that Camerarius's previous manuscript collection of two hundred emblems cannot be regarded as a true model for his printed collection, let alone elucidate the microstructure of each of the four published *Centuriae*.

²⁷ Camerarius's posthumously published emblem IV, 78, conversely, does take up his manuscript emblem 2, 88 depicting the Golden Fleece hanging from a tree and guarded by a dragon and offering the device 'Difficilia quae pulchra'; one small, but significant difference, however, draws our attention: Camerarius chooses the other guardian dragon, with the apples of the Hesperides and 'Sacros custodit in arbore fructus' ('It guards the sacred fruit on the tree'), following Contile's 'Non sat voluisse'. See Henkel-Schöne, *Emblemata*, 624, referring to Contile (1574) fol. 57v.

²⁸ See Camerarius, II, 79 and Henkel-Schöne, *Emblemata*, 463.

²⁹ Henkel-Schöne, *Emblemata*, 820-821: it was used as motto by Matthias of Habsburg as a device of regency.

³⁰ The reason is quite obvious: whereas the motto in Camerarius's manuscript collection is adapted to the moral requirements of adolescents at the Altdorf Academy, the printed one deliberately and more freely echoes Giovio's first use of the rhinoceros as a device for Alessandro de' Medici with the device 'Non buelvo sin vincir' ('When I fight I always win'). See Henkel-Schöne, *Emblemata*, 424.

Camerarius's Co-Authors

Camerarius's position in the Republic of Letters is well reflected in his collaborative authorship in the emblematic collection *Symbola et emblemata*, for the Latin *subscriptions* in elegiac distichs are to be connected with the name of the Conrad Rittershusius and Camerarius's son Ludwig (1578-1651), who also took care of the posthumous publication of the first collected edition covering all four *Centuriae*. As he had done before, Camerarius did not conceal their contribution at the end of the third *Centuria*:

It has to be known that for the composition of distichs (as we have also indicated in the previous *Centuriae*) we now equally used the help of the famous Konrad Rittershausen and of my son Ludwig.³¹

Interestingly, a few letters written by Rittershusius to Camerarius illustrating the genesis of the four *Centuriae* of emblems have been preserved. These letters shed light on the composition of the *subscriptions* in particular. In a letter from 3 January 1593, for instance, Rittershusius observed that he had received the first draft of Camerarius's *Centuria*, but that in some cases the verse subscriptions, in the composition of which Camerarius's nephew Joachim Jungermann (whose life ended prematurely) was equally involved³², were still lacking. He therefore proposed to compose the lacking ones himself. It was up to Camerarius, of course, to have them inserted later on in the published collection. As he did not dare to write them down in Camerarius's manuscript, he would send his compositions separately so that Camerarius could make up his mind and change them to his taste.³³ Besides, Rittershusius's generous offer that he would also compose the *subscriptions* for the following *Centuriae*, is followed by another letter (dated 22 January 1593) in which he noticed that in the first *Centuria* only 99 emblems had been published and in which he proposed the publisher to reorder some of the emblems. As is also evident from a letter from Rittershusius, dated 1 January 1595, Rittershusius

³¹ Fol. 104r: 'Sciendum autem (quod et in prioribus Centuriis indicavimus) in distichis componendis, nunc etiam me usum esse opera Cl. viri D. Cunradi Rittershusii, et filii mei Ludovici'.

³² As can be read in Camerarius's letter to the reader (fol. f3v-r): 'Disticha vero coepit magna ex parte adicere Iohannus Jungermann germanus, sororis meae filius P.M. iuvenis erudite doctus et ad Artem Medicam, quae praesertim tractat cognitionem Medicamentorum simplicium, excolendam et amplificandam plane natus. Qui procul dubio etiam suae doctrinae brevi specimen egregium exhibuisset [...] nisi immatura morte cum magno dolore meo et plurimorum ac desiderio singulari (qui illum loco filii habui et semper dilexi plurimum) fuisset e medio sublatus'.

³³ Quoted in Harms and Kuechen, 'Einführung', 8*.

would not compose all the verse subscriptions of the following *Centuriae*. Although he had corrected Ludwig Camerarius's liminary verses opening the first three *Centuriae* (fol. A6r-v), Rittershusius left Ludwig the first choice so as to avoid overlapping work; he would only correct Ludwig's verses and compose the distichs for the remaining numbers of the collection.

Wolfgang Harms's conclusion on Camerarius's 'authorship' remains directive: whereas Camerarius had his son Ludwig, his nephew Jungermann and his friend Rittershusius as co-authors for the verse subscriptions, Camerarius acted independently in the prose commentaries; for these he did not invoke the help of co-authors.³⁴

Camerarius's Literary Sources and Emblematic Game

If Camerarius's authorship thus has been defined, it remains an open question how he positioned himself in the emblematic intertextual game. A few well-chosen examples might elucidate this part of his literary activity. In commenting upon emblem II, 31 'Haec vera potentia est' ('This is true power'), Camerarius explains the importance of reason holding control over the passions – a well-known and widespread idea in ancient, medieval and Renaissance morals, and also carefully pointed out by his father in his commentary on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* in 1578.³⁵ In the verbose prose commentary Camerarius quotes Lipsius's definition of *ratio* from the first book of *De Constantia* – 'Reason itself is nothing other than true judgment and feeling regarding things human and divine' – together with ideas taken from Plato's *Phaedrus*, Cicero's *De Officiis*, and Saint Chrysostomos' *Homilies*.³⁶ If a typical eclecticism as displayed in the other instruments of humanist moral teaching such as *Exempla*, *Sententiae*, *Dicta* and *Apophthegmata*³⁷, is obviously present in Camerarius's approach, his line of thought also answered a need for a Christianity which, by taking account of the solutions to ethical problems provided by the classics, emphasised the feasibility of leading a moral life largely through the exercise of reason and will.³⁸ Besides, it is no coincidence that this line of thought is repeated time and again, in order to

³⁴ Harms and Kuechen, 'Einführung', 12*.

³⁵ See Jill Kraye, 'Moral philosophy', in: Charles B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, Eckhard Kessler (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1988) 365.

³⁶ Plato, *Phaedrus*, 246b; Cicero, *De officiis*, I, 101; Joannes Chrysostomus, *Homilia in Isaiam*, V.

³⁷ See John Robert Clements, *Picta Poesis: Literary and Humanistic Theory in Renaissance Emblem Books* [Storia e letteratura] (Rome, 1960).

³⁸ See Henry Ettinghausen, *Francisco de Quevedo and the Neostoic Movement* (Oxford, 1972) 5-6, referring to Marcel Bataillon (translated by A. Alatorre), *Erasmus y España. Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI* (Mexico - Buenos Aires, 1966²) 772-773.

inculcate ancient moral doctrines as valuable supplements to Christian precepts. In emblem I, 58 ('Gaudet Patientia duris'; 'Patience rejoices in hard times') – which is not only taken up in Rollenhagen's *Nucleus Emblematum* II, 74 ('Gaudet Patientia duris') and I, 28 ('Victrix Patientia duri'; 'Patience is the victress of difficulty')³⁹, but also echoes Alciato (ed. 1531, B3) – Camerarius shows how the beer's foot ('acanthus') flourishes better and more elegantly when suppressed. In a similar way, he argues, the soul, fortified by virtue, can only become better and brighter when oppressed by adversities.⁴⁰

Similarly, Camerarius's emblem I, 5, 'Ardua virtutem' ('The difficult [path leads towards] virtue'; fig. 3), reminds us of the image of virtue as a steep and rugged mountain, plainly rejecting the Epicurean view that virtue is in a flowering plain approachable by easy and natural paths up a gradual, flowering hill. In this emblem, the motto 'The difficult [path leads towards] virtue', taken from Silius Italicus (*Punica*, XV, 18), is clearly illustrated by the laurel and the palm trees standing on the steep mountain and the *scriptio*: 'If you desire to pluck the laurel wreath and victory palm, / You must first, if you did not know yet, ascend the steeps of the mountain' ('Qui laurum et palmam victricem carpere gaudes, / Montis, si nescis, ardua scande prius'). In the prose commentary Camerarius explains that he took this emblem from Girolamo Ruscelli's *Le imprese illustri*⁴¹ in order to demonstrate that true doctrine and solid prudence, and hence perennial glory, can only be obtained by enduring much labours, a Stoic theme which is recurrent and can, to give but one other example, be found in Typotius's *Symbola divina et humana* (II, 154) as well: 'Aurea virtutis merces sudore paranda est' ('The golden reward of virtue is to be gained by effort').⁴² In his prose commentary to this emblem I, 5, Camerarius also refers to the widespread theme of Hercules who standing at the crossroads choose the path of virtue.⁴³ The Ulysses-theme is taken up again in emblem I, 64, where Ulysses stands for prudence and his knowledge of distant countries and especially his knowledge of the 'mores gentium', due to his laborious efforts to gain true wisdom ('sapientia'), are compared to the red coral. Just as the red coral ('corallium') becomes stone when coming out of the

³⁹ Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum [...]* (Cologne: C. de Passe, 1611). About the emblems by Rollenhagen and De Passe see the contribution by Ilja Veldman and Clara Klein, elsewhere in this volume.

⁴⁰ Similar thought in emblem I, 75: 'Pulchrior attrita resurgo'.

⁴¹ Girolamo Ruscelli, *Le imprese illustri con espositioni et discorsi* (Venice: F. Rampazetto, 1566) 469. Reprints in Venice in 1572, 1580 and 1584.

⁴² Jacobus Typotius, *Symbola divina et humana pontificum, imperatorum, regum. Accessit brevis et facilis Isagoge* (Prague, 1601-1603).

⁴³ See Erwin Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst* [Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, 18] (Leipzig, 1930) 36 and Henkel-Schöne, *Emblemata*, 1642-1643.

water, so Ulysses's mind and judgment are hardened by travelling abroad. Ulysses is mentioned again in emblem IV, 62 as the 'exemplum virtutis' to be imitated when tempted by pleasures, 'voluptates'. As was usual in Renaissance humanism, Homer's account of the Sirens is read through moral spectacles and emphasis is laid on Ulysses's patience, prudence and fortitude.⁴⁴ Following Seneca's *De constantia sapientis* (chap. 2), where Ulysses is praised as being 'unconquered by labours, scorning pleasures, victorious in all lands', Camerarius's Ulysses too remains the ideal *homo viator* by virtue of his courage, resourcefulness, endurance and piety.⁴⁵ The explicit connection Camerarius makes between Hercules/Ulysses and the *voluptas*-theme, illustrates the traditional, important humanist message Camerarius wants to convey. For, according to Stoic philosophy, mental disorder is caused by lack of control by reason. It is this reason and moderation of irrational passions and desires, this therapy of desires that Camerarius calls for when admonishing his readers time and again against the dangers of *divitiae*, *luxus* and *voluptas*:

It is the quality of a great soul to scorn great things and to prefer that which is ordinary rather than that which is too great. For the one condition is useful and life-giving; but the other does harm just because it is excessive. Similarly, too rich a soil makes the grain fall flat, branches break down under too heavy a load, excessive productiveness does not bring fruit to ripeness'.⁴⁶

Camerarius reiterates Seneca's advice when commenting upon his emblem I, 13 'Copia me perdit' ('Riches ruin me').

So, whereas Camerarius continuously impresses on his readers to keep away from pleasures of the body, the *voluptates*, *deliciae*, and *luxus*⁴⁷, he instructs them that only the treasures of the liberal arts - 'treasures adorned by

⁴⁴ See W. B. Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme. A Study in the Adaptability of a Traditional Hero* (Oxford, 1968) 121-125, who also points out the influence of Stoic admiration for Ulysses on the later tradition (Plutarch, Apuleius, Marcus Aurelius, several Church Fathers and later ecclesiastical writers). On the 'moral reading' of Homer's *Odyssey*, see R. B. Rutherford, 'The Philosophy of the *Odyssey*', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 106 (1986) 145-162 (esp. 145).

⁴⁵ See, for instance, Camerarius's prose commentary to emblem IV, 75: 'Herculeum uno tempore omnia ejus [i.e. Hydrae] capita extinxisse putant, id est, Virtute et Temperantia cuncta vitia repulisse' ('They think that Hercules did extinguish all her heads at once, this means, that he did repulse all vices by virtue and temperance').

⁴⁶ See Seneca, *Epistulae*, 39, 4; translated by Richard M. Gummere in the Loeb Classical Library, 3 vols. (London-Cambridge Mass., 1967) I, 261. For a general account of this Stoic 'therapy', see Martha C. Nussbaum, *The Therapy of Desire. Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics* [Martin Classical Lecture, New Series, 2] (Princeton, 1994).

⁴⁷ See, for instance, emblems I, 13; I, 41; I, 46 and 47; I, 56; I, 62; I, 66; III, 95 and 97; IV, 48.

virtue' as Sappho called them – are worth living for. For, wealth drives the mind crazy just as the henbane herb does with birds who are flying too nearby (I, 85: 'Sic opibus mentes': 'So [our] minds [become insane] by wealth').⁴⁸ Elaborating a theme from Lucretius (*De rerum natura*, VI, 973-978), Erasmus's *Adages* (III.vii.24), and Nicolaus Reusner's *Emblemata* (II, 21), where the pig had been depicted as being abhorrent of beauty and virtue and keen on mud and filth, Camerarius connects the pig with the idea of virtue and doctrine. As the pig fits in badly with roses, the mind, drunk with exuberant luxury, cannot possibly be devoted to virtue (emblem II, 50: 'Non bene conveniunt'; 'They do not suit well'). Similarly taking up the famous proverb of Erasmus 'A pig has nothing to do with marjoram' (Liv.38: 'Nihil cum amaracino sui'), Camerarius enlarges the scope of his simile in stating that the *bonae litterae*, just as marjoram, are detested by the swinish tribe of unlettered people (emblem I, 93: 'Non tibi spiro') (fig. 4).⁴⁹ This theme was highly common in humanist circles and occurred time and again in the vast humanist correspondence Camerarius entertained with Lipsius and other humanist friends from Vienna and all over Europe, such as Johannes Crato, Abraham Ortelius, Konrad Rittershusius and Carolus Clusius.⁵⁰

Camerarius's Programme: Humanist Education, Contemplation and Virtue

As for Erasmus and other humanist authors, it was central to Camerarius, himself a son of a celebrated philologist, to educate youth and to elevate the political elites by means of language, ancient thought and exempla taken from historical, biblical sources.⁵¹ This issue of education and culture is also prominent in Camerarius's collection of emblems. If Camerarius's brother, the

⁴⁸ Camerarius refers to Pliny, *Natural History*, 25, 4, 17, § 35, and goes on to emphasize the civil of wealth by quoting from Theophrast, Seneca, Sappho and Juvenal.

⁴⁹ On these emblems depicting the pig, see Henkel-Schöne, *Emblemata*, 548-550.

⁵⁰ See Jan Papy, 'Manus manum lavat. Die Briefkontakte zwischen Kaspar Schoppe und Justus Lipsius als Quelle für die Kenntnis der sozialen Verhältnisse in der Respublica litteraria', in: H. Jaumann (ed.), *Kaspar Schoppe (1576-1649), Philologe im Dienste der Gegenreformation. Beiträge zur Gelehrtenkultur des europäischen Späthumanismus* [Zeitsprünge: Forschungen zur Frühen Neuzeit, II/3-4] (Frankfurt on the Main, 1998) 276-297. Camerarius entertained good contacts with Clusius, from whom he received many tulips; see, for instance, Camerarius, *Hortus medicus et philosophicus* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1588) 173-175. See also Konrad Wickert, *Das Camerarius-Florilegium* [Kulturstiftung der Länder. Patrimonia, 61] (Berlin-Münster, 1992 [=1993]) 9.

⁵¹ On the efforts made by 17th-century humanists to change 'arma' into 'litterae', as did Erasmus in his *Miles christianus*, see further Wilhelm Kühlmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat. Entwicklung und Kritik des deutschen Späthumanismus in der Literatur des Barockzeitalters* [Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur, 3] (Tübingen, 1988) 351-363.

Pro-Chancellor of the Aldorf University, Philipp Camerarius, had once been elected to deliver an annual speech on the humanist educational theme 'Utrum arma bonis litteris praeferenda?'⁵², one can easily detect how the humanist theme of moral education has also been elaborated in Camerarius's own *Symbola et emblemata*.

In emblem I, 5 (fig. 3), for instance, the way to virtue is depicted as difficult and put in a hilltop context, relating the mountain's symbolic meaning to sacred writings and the works of ancient poets, where it was used to convey the effort needed to achieve anything worthwhile. The laurel and the palm on the summit signify, as is well-known, true doctrine and enduring wisdom.⁵³ If combined with emblem I, 43 ('Virtus difficilis, sed fructuosa') (fig. 5), an interesting key for a proper understanding of Camerarius's philosophical background might be offered. For, in taking up Hadrianus Junius's emblem no. 37, 'Virtus difficilis, sed fructuosa' ('Virtue is difficult, but fruitful'), and its final distich from the *subscriptio*, Camerarius reiterates with Hesiodus, Xenophon and Cicero⁵⁴ that 'hard wisdom ('sapientia') is protected by sharp stones' – as is the fruit of Cybele ('nux pinea') – 'but it likewise teems with sweet fruits'. Moreover, as Junius with his macrocosmic pinecone in a landscape, Camerarius embraces the Christian visualisation of the pagan seed of virtue. The educational metaphor of the seed of virtue, which had coalesced in Stoicism and had been spread through the sentences of Cicero, Seneca, and Quintilian, was particularly influential on the Christian humanism of Petrarch, Erasmus and Lipsius.⁵⁵

The concept of the seeds of virtue and knowledge – regarded as to ignite the spark of divinity in order to bring about a rebirth of culture and reawakening of religion – was taken over by several emblem authors. It is known that Alciati had used Balthasar Arnoullet's illustrative woodblocks of trees from Leonhart Fuchs's *L'histoire des plantes*.⁵⁶ In his footsteps, Camerarius, who himself had edited Pietro Andrea Mattioli's herbal before he

⁵² See Kühlmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat*, 356, n. 126.

⁵³ See Sandra Billington, 'The Hilltop Setting in Early Emblem Books', in: Alison Adams and Anthony J. Harper (eds.), *The Emblem in Renaissance and Baroque Europe: Tradition and Variety. Selected Papers of the Glasgow International Emblem Conference, 13-17 August, 1990* [Symbola et Emblemata: Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Symbolism, 3] (Leiden etc., 1992) 213-228 (esp. 218-219).

⁵⁴ Camerarius refers to Hesiodus, *Works and Days*, 285-290; Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, II, i, 20; Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares*, 6, 18, 5.

⁵⁵ On this theme in Western philosophical, theological, educational, and ethical writings, see Maryanne Clinc Horowitz, *Seeds of Virtue and Knowledge* (Princeton, 1998).

⁵⁶ Leonhart Fuchs, *L'histoire des plantes* (Lyon: G. Rouille, 1558).

transformed the subjects of natural history into his emblems⁵⁷, presents himself as overlapping the genres of herbal and emblem collections alike.⁵⁸ Camerarius's emblems I, 10 (fig. 6) and I, 35, for instance, show how visual illustrations come to the aid of the educational theory of nurturing the seeds of virtue and knowledge. In emblem I, 10, 'Neglecta iuventus' ('Youth neglected'), the willow, named 'frugisperda' ('wasted fruits') after Homer's *Odyssey*⁵⁹, is presented as a negative example: parents and educators must take care that youth does not lose its *semina virtutis* and hence, the fruits of virtue, in order not to end up as the willow who always loses its seed prematurely and consequently does not bear any fruit.⁶⁰ Whereas Camerarius stresses time and again the common theme 'virtue is difficult, but fruitful', emblem I, 35 'Intacta virtus' ('Untouched virtue'; fig. 7) depicts the evergreen laurel, symbolizing virtue acquired. This laurel can never be struck by Jupiter's lightning but is ever constant. If, however, this virtuous constancy, to which nothing is inaccessible (emblem IV, 81: 'Invia virtuti nulla'), might seem to be the ultimate scope of Camerarius's programme, one has to connect it with the Stoic ethical images of sparks of divinity and seeds of virtue: since reason comes from heaven, and thus from God himself – being a part in fact of the divine spirit implanted in man – it leads us to those goals which are worth striving for: *eruditio*, *pietas*, *constantia* and *virtus*. As right reason is to be acquired by the flowering of the seeds and the enflaming of the sparks under the divine light, so is virtue.

In building upon the known humanist confidence in human potentialities to encourage choosing virtue and fulfilling the requirements of human dignity⁶¹, Camerarius adheres the view that the powers of education can only develop the seeds of reason and virtue when they are divinely implanted in the human mind. So, whereas Camerarius adheres the Stoic view that virtue must be loved because of itself (III, 20: 'Sibimet pulcherrima merces'), true wisdom or sapientia can only be obtained by God's Grace and

⁵⁷ Pietro Andrea Mattioli, *Kreutterbuch [...] Jetzt widerumb mit viel schonen neuen Figuren [...] gemehret und verfertigt durch Ioachim Camerarium [...]* (Frankfurt on the Main: s.n., 1590).

⁵⁸ Horowitz, *Seeds of Virtue and Knowledge*, 161, referring to Mason Tung, 'From Natural History to Emblem: A Study of Peacham's Use of Camer[ar]ius's *Symbola et Emblemata*', *Emblematica*, 1 (1986) 53-76 (esp. 54 and note 2).

⁵⁹ See Homer, *Odyssey*, X, 510.

⁶⁰ Henkel-Schöne, *Emblemata*, 244-245 indicates a similar emblem ('Perdita iuventus') by Barthélemy Ancau in his *Picta poesis* (Lyon, 1552) 100. The last distich of the subscriptio gives the following explanation: 'Aetatis cum flore suae qui semina perdens / Virtutum: nulla postea fruge valet' ('Who loses with the flower of his age the seeds of virtues, produces no fruits afterwards').

⁶¹ See, for instance, Erasmus, *Declamatio de pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*, edited by Jean-Claude Margolin (Geneva, 1966) 68, notes 8-9.

illumination (see, for instance, emblems I, 2; I, 4; I, 38). If all this may give the impression that Camerarius's Christian humanist programme occupies a prominent position, it certainly remains to be attached to his underlying message: it is the contemplation of God's creation, the *physica contemplatio* which leads to perfect deeds of virtue, to a true *doctrina ethica*.⁶²

Yet, this *doctrina ethica*, as all the humanistic subject matters, served important societal purposes alike. Not without reason, Camerarius's emblem I, 50 ('Hinc recte facies') is echoed in I, 90 ('Vigilate timentes'). The former, taken from Contilis's *imprese*, is intended to promote the ideal of the threefold garland of the laurel, the oak and the olive, symbolizing the study of prudence and wisdom, fortitude and constancy, and peace respectively. Camerarius's concern in emblem I, 90 is similar. Whereas his warning message goes back to Vergil's third *Eclogue* ('Away from here, lads, a chill snake lurks in the grass!')⁶³, his image is taken from Camillo Camilli's *Imprese illustri* (II, 78)⁶⁴ and Paradin's *Symbola heroica*. By warning his readers who want to collect beautiful flowers for a snake that might be hiding in them – the snake being the symbol of vices such as arrogance, wastefulness and luxury ('superbia', 'prodigalitas', 'luxuria') – Camerarius does not only warn his readers for pleasing, good-looking things ('plausibilia' et 'speciosa'), but also arms them against the world of appearance: in the beautiful and smelling flowers a snake is often hiding.

Similarly, if rulers ought to apply reason to government, and to have the cause of civil peace as their sole aim⁶⁵ and thus sought to combine Virtus and Doctrina, Camerarius adjusts this humanist educational theory to fully accomodate the powers of human innate reason and the divine seeds of virtue and knowledge and to build the wisdom essential for orderly government. In his reading of the world, he recognized his emblematic task as being the 'emblematica rerum naturalium imitatio' of his colleague Nicolaus Taurellus, in order to illustrate God's wisdom, goodness and providence, but, as his friend Sambucus, he also put virtue as the only valuable opponent of Fortuna.⁶⁶

⁶² See Harms, 'On Natural History and Emblematism in the 16th Century', 75, and Harms and Kuechen, 'Einführung', 19*.

⁶³ Vergil, *Eclogues*, III, 93: 'Frigidus, o pueri, fugite hinc, latet anguis in herba'.

⁶⁴ Camillo Camilli, *Imprese illustri di diversi, coi discorsi ... et con le figure intagliate in rame di Girolamo Porro [...]* (Venice: F. Ziletti, 1586).

⁶⁵ For an overall synthesis, see Robert Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince: Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe* (Chapel Hill - London, 1990).

⁶⁶ See August Buck, 'Einleitung', in: *Johannes Sambucus: Emblemata, Antverpiae, 1564*, [Bibliotheca Hungarica Antiqua, 11] (Budapest, 1982) 7-43 (esp. 26-27). Compare also with Florentius Schoonhove's emblem no. 2 *Sapiens supra Fortunam*; see on this Gottfried Kirchner, *Fortuna in Dichtung und Emblematik des Barock. Tradition und Bedeutungswandel eines Motivs* (Stuttgart, 1970) 87-88.

Camerarius's emblem III, 25 ('Nil fulgura terrent') is a striking case in point (fig. 8): a virtuous and prudent man, a true model of integrity, will not be deterred by fortune's insults, for he is like the swan who is protected by the sprouts of the laurel tree. Does it need to be repeated that Camerarius already depicted the laurel and the swan – example of integrity, modesty and virtue – as devoted to Apollo in emblems I, 35 'Intacta virtus' ('Untouched virtue'; fig. 7) and III, 22 ('Unius coloris') respectively?

Finally, the true virtuous and prudent man is more than once encouraged by Camerarius's use of images which occur rather frequently in other emblem books. If the recurrent image of the bee as a symbol of the wise man whose selfless work for the common good of the republic is rather traditionally compared to the bee that collects honey (I, 67: 'Ut prosit', III, 90: 'Ardor omnibus idem', and III, 91: 'Sine iniuria')⁶⁷, the equally famous example of the silk-moth in emblem III, 95 ('Ut purus hinc evolem') (See fig. 9) is of a different kind (fig. 9). The image depicts a newly born winged silk-moth ('bombyx') coming out of its cocoon, which is attached to a stone. The following subscription accompanies the motto and image:

Caeca voluptatum, o juvenes, abruptite vincla,
Libera erunt vestra his pectora vindiciis.

(O young men, break off the dazzling bonds of passions,
For your hearts will be free then from these claims).

In explaining this image, which is to be found nowhere else, Camerarius does not limit himself in referring to Aristotle's and Pliny's accounts, but he also quotes from the second book of Girolamo Vida's Latin poem *De bombyce*.⁶⁸ Obviously, it is Vida's description which inspired Camerarius's image of the bombyx at the centre of an open landscape in a clear, open sky: once the bombyx will have left his cocoon, described as a prison ('carcer'), with a supreme effort, it will be able to return to the light so longed for. In a similar way, young men should free themselves from their passions and return to the liberal arts in order to fly through the open sky of knowledge and wisdom. Obviously, Camerarius not only reestablished the widespread use of the

⁶⁷ Richard Dimler, 'The Bee-topos in the Jesuit Emblem Book: Themes and Contrast', in: Adams and Harper (eds.), *The Emblem in Renaissance and Baroque Europe*, 229-246 (esp. 231-232).

⁶⁸ Marcus Hieronymus Vida, *Bombycum libri II ad Isabellam Estensem Marchionissam Mantuae* (Rome (?): s.n., [1520?]); countless reprints in Vida's *Opera*, *De arte poetica*, and *Poemata omnia* (e.g. Basle, 1534 and 1537, Lyons 1536, 1541, 1548, 1554, 1559, 1566, 1578, 1581, 1586, 1592 and 1603, Venice 1538, 1550 and 1571, Antwerp 1558, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1578, 1585, 1588 and 1607).

Physiologus – attributed to Epiphanius and republished in Rome in 1587 and Antwerp in 1588, which brought into fashion again the symbolism of the medieval bestiaries⁶⁹ – he also transformed its underlying message by adapting it to his own Christian humanist programme.

The Symbola et emblemata: Tradition and Influence

Camerarius's emblematic activities did not only leave remarkable traces during his lifetime, when he had been involved in the production of a series of class-medals for the Altdorf Academy and when the Nurnberg city hall had been decorated with some of his emblems. The posthumous edition of both the fourth *Centuria* of emblems and the re-edition of the three former ones in 1605, of which his son Ludwig took special care, brought him fame and reached a wide international readership, mainly because of their innovative form and wideranging content, their clarity and clear arrangement. The *Symbola et emblemata* went through more than seven editions between the 16th and the 18th centuries, editions which have not only been printed in Nuremberg and surroundings: Frankfurt am Main 1654 and 1661, Heidelberg 1664, Mainz 1668, 1677, 1697 and 1702.⁷⁰ In addition, several anonymous editions were published, sometimes together with other emblem collections such as those by Jacob Bornitz. The *Symbola et emblemata* have been translated into German only: the first German edition, by Johann Rudolf Karstens, was published in Mainz in 1671 and was later reissued in 1677 and 1715.

Although it remains to be examined in detail how Camerarius's work left its traces in commonplace books and seventeenth-century literature, it can certainly be stated that the *Symbola et emblemata*, like several other emblem books, were widely used as a reference work by clergymen and preachers, orators and authors, whereas separate emblems found their way into encyclopaedias and anthologies. Wolfgang Harms has already pointed out that several of Camerarius's emblematic motto's and prose commentaries have been taken up in Joseph Langius's *Anthologia sive Florilegium rerum et materiarum selectarum* (Strasbourg, 1662) under lemmata dealing with virtues

⁶⁹ Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery* [Sussidi eruditi, 16] (Roma, 1964²) 47-48.

⁷⁰ John Landwehr, *German Emblem Books, 1531-1888: A Bibliography* [Bibliotheca emblematica, 5] (Utrecht-Leiden, 1972) 46-49. See also William S. Heckscher and Agnes B. Sherman, with the assistance of Stephen Ferguson, *Emblem Books in the Princeton University Library: Short-Title Catalogue* (Princeton, 1984) no. 165-171 and Hester M. Black and Daniel Weston (eds.), *A Short-Title Catalogue of the Emblem Books and Related Works in the Stirling Maxwell Collection of Glasgow University Library (1499-1917)* (Aldershot, 1988) no. 332-347.

and vices, calumny and friendship.⁷¹ Moreover, Georg Philipp Harsdörffer's widely-used *Frauenzimmer-Gesprächspiele* mentioned Camerarius's *Symbola et emblemata* under the lemma 'Scribenten aus welchen meistens die Gesprächspiele verfasst werden'.⁷² Mario Praz, finally, pointed out that Burton, who frequently referred to emblems and devices (chiefly Heinsius's *Emblemata amatoria*), also mentioned Camerarius's emblem I, 82 on the reed and fern, averse and opposite in nature, in *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Part. 3, Sec. 2, Mem. 6, Subs. 3).⁷³

If these various traces, however subtle or obvious they may be, are sometimes difficult to detect, it can be clearly demonstrated that Camerarius's four books of emblems influenced the emblematic tradition itself significantly.⁷⁴ Without aiming at an exhaustive list, it deserves mentioning first that Camerarius's images, motto's, verses and prose commentaries have either been re-used by the techniques of the *ars combinatoria* (new combinations of images and motto's, the use of images or motto's in a new context resulting in a new 'meaning') or have but been taken up partly. For one can easily imagine that one small line of thought or one fresh and inspiring example in Camerarius's detailed and rich prose commentaries generated a new series of emblems, a new motto, a new image. As such, Mason Tung⁷⁵ has shown how 16 of Camerarius's emblems have been taken up in Peacham's *Minerva Britannia* (London, 1612) and how a distinction has to be made between direct borrowings and various sorts of modifications. Besides, the iconographical echoes of Camerarius's collection in the decoration of public and private buildings are especially interesting. Already soon after the publication of the *Symbola et emblemata*, the ceiling of the little Knights' Hall of the castle of Dillingen has been decorated with an entire emblematic programme: 40 emblems taken from Camerarius's collection have been copied in large size with motto and image so as to enable the visitor to interpret the emblems in his own way.⁷⁶ Whereas an analogous

⁷¹ Harms and Kuechen, 'Einleitung', 30*. See also Ann Moss' article on Langius commonplace book elsewhere in this volume.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 30*.

⁷³ Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, 225.

⁷⁴ In his *German Emblem Books, 1531-1888* Landwehr, for instance, mentions less-known examples: the *Symbola et Emblemata Jessu (sic) atque auspiciis Sacerrimae Suae Majestatis Augustissimi Serenissimi Imperatoris Moschoviae Magni, Domini Czaris, et Magni Ducis Petri Alexeidis [...] excussa* (Amsterdam, 1705) (p. 142, no. 581 in Landwehr) and Christian Weidling's *Emblematische Schatz-Kammer* (Leipzig, 1702) (p. 154, no. 636 in Landwehr).

⁷⁵ Tung, 'From Natural History to Emblem: A Study of Peacham's Use of Camerarius's *Symbola et emblemata*', *Emblematica*, 1 (1986) 53-76.

⁷⁶ Müller, 'Joachim Camerarius: *Symbola et Emblemata* - Zwischen Emblematis und Naturwissenschaft', 52 and 57; Harms and Kuechen, 'Einleitung', 32*-33* referring to Werner Meyer, 'Studien zur emblematischen Deckenmalerei an Beispielen aus dem Landkreis Dillingen an der Donau', *Berichte des Bayerischen Landesamts für Denkmalpflege*, 26 (1967) 133-169,

case is offered by the emblematic tiles in Wrisbergholzen where Camerarius's emblems have been reproduced as such, the translations of Camerarius's emblems under the emblems of Lady Drury's Oratory in Hawstead Hall seem to be deliberately designed for purpose of meditation.⁷⁷ Moreover, in Nuremberg Camerarius's emblems have been modified or shortened, if not reversed, on a glass bowl at the end of the 17th century and on a glass goblet in the last quarter of the 17th century: both cases illustrate how Camerarius's emblems have been adapted to new contexts and re-used for different purposes time and again.⁷⁸

Still, Camerarius's use of the new medallic form – itself originating from the ancient medals⁷⁹ and perhaps also from the Italian illustrations in Pliny's works⁸⁰ – had even a greater impact. Not only was this new form imitated in the famous emblem books by Julius Wilhelm Zinegref and Gabriel Rollenhagen, it also had other effects.⁸¹ To give but one unquestionable example, the series of medals produced in the period 1610-1612 for duke Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, himself belonging to the Prague cultural milieu around emperor Rudolf II, is clearly inspired by Camerarius's emblem collections.⁸² In fact, this sort of imitation in medals may not surprise, for no one less than Camerarius's brother, the Pro-Chancellor of the Aldorf University, Philipp Camerarius, had himself already represented on a medal in

Wolfgang Harms, Hartmut Freytag (eds.), *Außerliterarische Wirkungen barocker Emblembücher. Emblematisierung in Ludwigsburg, Gaarz und Pommersfelden* (Munich, 1975), and Michael Schilling, 'Emblematisierung außerhalb des Buches', *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 11 (1986) 149-174.

⁷⁷ Harms and Kuechen, 'Einleitung', 33* refer to Norman K. Farmer, *Poets and the Visual Arts in Renaissance England* (Austin, 1984) 79-86 and 97-101.

⁷⁸ Harms and Kuechen, 'Einleitung', 34* with reference to S. Bosch (with C. Kemp, I. Stahl, R. Himpsl), *Die Nürnberger Hausmaler. Emailfarbendekor auf Glas und Fayencen der Barockzeit* (Munich, 1984) 459, no. 372.

⁷⁹ Harms and Kuechen, 'Einleitung', 33* refer to Ernst Friedrich von Monroy (Hans Martin von Erffa, ed.), *Embleme und Emblembücher in den Niederlanden 1560-1630. Eine Geschichte der Wandlungen ihres Illustrationsstils* (Utrecht, 1964) 50.

⁸⁰ Harms and Kuechen, 'Einleitung', 33* refers to Anna Bovcro, 'Ferrarese Miniatures at Turin', *The Burlington Magazine*, 99 (1957) 261-265.

⁸¹ See for Rollenhagen the contribution by Ilja Veldman and Clara Klein, elsewhere in this volume.

⁸² Annelise Stemper, *Die Medaillen des Herzogs Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel und ihre Beziehungen zu den Emblemata des Joachim Camerarius* [Arbeitsberichte aus dem Städtischen Museum Braunschweig, 8] (Braunschweig, 1955). Several other examples have been shown in the catalogue *SinnbilderWelten: Emblematische Medien in der frühen Neuzeit*, nos. 89 (Wolfgang Wilhelm von Pfalz-Neuburg, 1614), 106 (Friedrich Ulrich von Braunschweig, 1617), 129 (Christina Ludovica von Braunschweig, 1714), 131 (Christian von Brandenburg-Bayreuth, s.a.), 133 (Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, 1611), 137 (Christian Ernst von Brandenburg-Bayreuth, 17th c.).

1614, a medal of which the reverse showed Camerarius's emblem I, 100 ('*Spes altera vitae*').⁸³ Who could have better grasped the deepest message, the *interpretatio christiana*, of his brother's collection in which the reading of the Book of Nature unlocked the true meaning of virtue and vanity?

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⁸³ Wolfgang Harms, 'Philipp Camerarius (1537-1624), [1614] Medailleur: Nuremberg (unbek.), Blei, 37:46 mm/Staatliche Münzsammlung München', in: *SinnBilderWelten*, 83, no. 117.

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C.
SPES ALTERA
VITÆ.



*Securus moritur, qui scit se morte renasci:
Non ea mors dici, sed nona vita potest.*

f 2

Frumento

Figure 1: Joachim Camerarius, *Symbola et Emblemata* (Nuremberg, 1590-1604) emblem I,100 'Spes altera vitae'.

12

IIII.

NON REVERTAR IN VLTVS.



*Vincere, vel pulchra laus est occumbere morti,
Sed tremulo à pugna turpe redire gradu.*

RHINO-

Figure 2: Joachim Camerarius, *Symbola et Emblemata* (Nuremberg, 1590-1604) emblem II,4 'Non revertar inultus'.

V.
 ARDVA VIR-
 TVTEM.



*Qui laurum & palmam victtricem carperè gaudes,
 Montis, si nescis, ardua scande prius.*

E 3

Montes

Figure 3: Joachim Camerarius, *Symbola et Emblemata* (Nuremberg, 1590-1604) emblem 5 'Ardua virtutem'.

103

XCIII.

NON TIBI SPIRO.



*Prauis est animis virus doctrina salubris:
Sic lutulens fugit at porcus amaracinum.*

d 3

Hoc sym-

Figure 4: Joachim Camerarius, *Symbola et Emblemata* (Nuremberg, 1590-1604) emblem 1,93 'Non tibi spiro'.

XLIII.
VIRTUS DIFFI-
CILIS SED FRU-
CTUOSA.



*Ardua vallatur duris sapientia scrupis:
 Dulcibus ast eadem fructibus illa scatet.*

P

Desumptum

Figure 5: Joachim Camerarius, *Symbola et Emblemata* (Nuremberg, 1590-1604) emblem 1,43 'Virtus difficilis sed fructuosa'.

10

X.

NEGLECTA IV-
VENTVS.

*Perdere virtutum fructus cum flore iuuenta,
Frugis perda salix ne vocitere caue.*

Homerus

Figure 6: Joachim Camerarius, *Symbola et Emblemata* (Nuremberg, 1590-1604) emblem 1,10 'Neglecta iuventus'.

XXXV.
INTACTA VIR-
TUS.



*Sic illa sae malis constat pulcherrima virtus,
 Laurus ut est diris integra fulminibus.*

N

Laurum

Figure 7: Joachim Camerarius, *Symbola et Emblemata* (Nuremberg, 1590-1604) emblem I,35 'Intacta virtus'.

25

XXX.

NIL FVLGVRA TERRENT.



*Fulgura non metuo, pellunt ea germina lauri,
Fortuna insultus despicit integritas.*

Figure 8: Joachim Camerarius, *Symbola et Emblemata* (Nuremberg, 1590-1604) emblem III, 25 'nil fulgura terrent'.

XCV.

VT PURVS HINC
EVOLEM.



*Cæca voluptatum, o iuvenes, abrumpite vincla,
Liberæ erunt vestra his pectora vindiciis.*

Figure 9: Joachim Camerarius, *Symbola et Emblemata* (Nuremberg, 1590-1604) emblem III, 95 'Ut purus hinc evolem'.

The Seven Liberal Arts into Emblems, in Olomouc, 1597*

LUBOMÍR KONEČNÝ AND JAROMÍR OLŠOVSKÝ

The Book

The slim but highly interesting volume in quarto that will be analyzed in this article was printed in the Moravian city of Olomouc (in the present-day Czech Republic) in 1597. According to its title-page (fig. 1), the book contains *Emblemata VII Artes Liberales a galmatice declarantia*¹, 'emblems symbolically representing the Seven Liberal Arts'.² The little book, we are

* The genesis of this study has been very complex. Its inception dates to 1995 when one of us lectured on the 1597 book at the 'Emblem Studies: The State of the Art' conference in Wrocław, and the other subjected it to a thorough analysis in a thesis written for the Department of History and Philosophy of Art and Architecture, Central European University, Prague: 'On the Seven Liberal Arts in Emblems' (later published as '*Septem artes liberales v olomoucké knize emblémů*', *Knihy a dějiny*, 5 (1998) 14-45). Since then we both kept working on the subject, making additions to previous findings as well as revising former opinions. At various stages of our work we were kindly assisted by Anežka Baďurová, Mirjam Bohatcová, Josef Hejnic, Karl Josef Hölting, Vladimír Juřen, Martina Kostelníčková, Karel Müller, Paul Raasveld, and Arnoud Visser. Petr Peňáz kindly helped with translations of Latin texts; April Retter corrected the first English wording. Throughout this article, classical texts are quoted from their editions in Loeb Classical Library.

¹ *Emblemata VII Artes Liberales a galmatice declarantia. Cum eruditione et virtute praestantes congregationis Partheniae visitantis novi convictus sodales suprema earundem Artium & Philosophiae Laurea in Alma Academia Societatis Iesu Olomutii publice insigniuntur. A Generosis Dominis D. Christophoro & Andrea Coricyniis a Corythno FF. Philosophiae & Eloquentiae studiosis eiusdem Coetus Parthenii sociis amoris & honoris ergo conscripta. Olomutii, Typis Handelianis. Anno M. D. XCVII.* Working on this article, we used a copy kept in the Department of Manuscripts and Old Prints, National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague, shelf-mark 52 C 11 (Tres. Re 189) adl. 32. Four other copies of this rare book can be found in the archives in Olomouc (Státní okresní archiv, shelf marks A 5482/15 and A 5481), in Kroměříž (Státní okresní archiv, shelf-mark V 10), and in Opava (Zemský archiv Opava, pobočka Olomouc, fond Arcibiskupství olomoucké, karton 1820, inv. nr. 3988). The fifth copy we knew about has been recorded in Biblioteka Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, Lublin (Poland), shelf-mark 614 adl.

² Misprinted here *a galmatice*, the adverb *agalmatice* harks back to the Greek term ἄγαλμα, as used in Plotinus' *Ennead*, V, viii, 6. According to Daniel Russell, 'Emblems and Hieroglyphics: Some Observations on the Beginnings and the Nature of Emblematic Forms' *Emblematica*, 1 (1986) 228-229 (227-243), Plotinus 'posited relationships between hieroglyphics, intelligent forms and beautiful works of art', 'used the word *agalma* to designate all three, and Claude Mignault was still using this word late in the sixteenth century as a synonym for 'emblem' (Alciato, *Omnia [...] Emblemata* (Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1577) 43). William S. Heckscher and Agnes B. Sherman, *Emblematic Variants: Literary Echoes of Alciati's Terms Emblemata: A*

further informed, was composed by the brothers Christophorus and Andreas Coricynius a Corythno, students of philosophy and rhetoric in the Jesuit Academy in Olomouc. The two authors — in their native Polish: Andrzej and Krzysztof Koryciński (from Korytno, a small place near Cracow) — studied first in Cracow, then, 1596, in Würzburg, and finally in Olomouc. The 1597 emblem book is the only work these gentlemen ever published.³

A Jesuit college was established in Olomouc in 1566, in the very year the Society of Jesus launched their activities in Moravia. Instruction started with the *studia inferiora*, and the regular classes of philosophy opened only in 1576 when the school was for the first time called 'academy'.⁴ The exact nature of the Coricynii's involvement there is not known because their names do not figure in any of the late sixteenth-century university documents from Olomouc. It seems, however, possible that they did not immatriculate in the standard three-year period of study and might have spent only one or two semesters in Olomouc instead, as many other students did. In fact, the title-page says that the Coricynii produced their *Emblemata* on occasion of the graduation of their colleagues, and not of their own; and further, that all of them were members of the Congregation of the Visitation of the Virgin, active in the Jesuit college since 1575.⁵ The final piece of information one finds on the title-page says that the book was printed in Olomouc, 'Typis Handelianis', in 1597. Georg (Jiří) Hand(e)l or Handelius was the most important printer in the town at the turn of the sixteenth century, after he bought Valentin Kheil's printing press in the early 1590s, and Jan Milichthaler's heirs sold their workshop to him in 1610. Handl ran the two conjoint printing presses until

Vocabulary Drawn from the Title-pages of Emblem Books (New York, 1985) 12, recorded the term on the title-page of *Emblemata Nicolai Reusneri [...] Quibus agalmatum, sive Emblematum sacrorum [...] (Frankfurt, 1581)*. It is therefore probable that it was Mignault who introduced this Plotinus-derived term for the emblem to Reusner and the Coricynii. For some pertinent comments on Plotinus and *agalmata*, see Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance: An Exploration of Philosophical and Mystical Sources of Iconography in Renaissance Art* (New York and London, 1968) 207.

³ Karol Estreicher, in: *Bibliografia Polska* (Cracow, 1905) XXII, 413-414.

⁴ For the Jesuit origins of Olomouc University and the historical circumstances of its founding, see Ivana Čornejová, *Tovaryšstvo Ježíšovo: Jezuité v Čechách* (Prague, 1995) 60; and Miloš Kouřil, 'Symbols of Representation and the Legal Power of Olomouc University,' in: *Universitas Olomucensis: 1573 – 1946 – 1996* (Olomouc, 1996) 18-24 (p. 18).

⁵ Ludwig Igálffy-Igály, 'Die Matrikel der Marianischen Sodalität der Ferdinandeischen Konvikts an der Universität Olmütz 1625-1778', *Jahrbuch der heraldisch-genealogischen Gesellschaft 'Adler'*, 3. Folge, 6 (1964/1966) 5-57 (p. 7). It is worth mentioning that one of the other three religious congregations active in the Jesuit academy in Olomouc during the seventeenth century, the Sodality of the Queen of Angels (*Regina Angelorum*), kept records of their membership in a manuscript emblem book. See Martina Kostelníčková, *Matrika členů mariánské družiny 'Královny andělů' v Olomouci* [B. A. thesis, Department of Art History, Palacký University] (Olomouc, 2000).

his death in 1616,⁶ and a significant number of his prints can be associated with Jesuits in this or other way. This is clearly seen in the same volume in the National Library in Prague, whereinto the Coricynii *Emblemata* has been bound.⁷

The only mention of the volume under scrutiny in the Czech literary scholarship can be found in the handbook of humanistic poetry in Bohemia and Moravia, being there briefly characterized as a gathering of 'poetic wordplays without any factual or biographic importance'.⁸ While there is no dispute that the book does not convey any relevant information of this kind, it was occasionally addressed by both emblem scholars and students of iconography.⁹ There are several reasons for this, apart from its specific interest for the history of Polish literature in general, and Polish emblematics in particular. First, the 1597 *Emblemata* occupies a prominent place within the history of Jesuit emblematics for, as Richard Dimler affirms, it was 'the earliest emblem book published by a College of the Society'.¹⁰ Further, in chronological terms, it was the second emblem book ever published in the

⁶ Cf. R. Martinčák, 'Olomouc v dějinách knihtisku', *Typographia*, 31 (1924) 69-77.

⁷ Adl. 35 among them is *Applausus Hieroglyphici sedecim [...] licenciatis [...]*, also printed in 1597, but without illustrations, to honor new Jesuit graduates. This print was listed as an emblem book by Richard G. Dimler, 'A Bibliographical Survey of Emblem Books Produced by Jesuit Colleges in the Early Society: Topography and Themes', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 48, no. 96 (1979) 297-309 (p. 304); *idem*, 'Short Title Listing of Jesuit Emblem Books', *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies*, 2 (1987) 139-187 (p. 173). The National Library volume contains further titles which Handl printed for the Olomouc Sodality of the Visitation of the Virgin: adl. 36 (*Hortus Parthenius [...]* of 1598) adl. 38 (*Laurea Partheniae Sodalitatis Academicæ*, 1598) and adl. 51 (*Musæa Stagirica Prima*, 1603).

⁸ Josef Hejnic and Jan Martínek, *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě od konce 15. do začátku 17. století / Enchiridion renatae poesis Latinae in Bohemia et Moravia cultae* (Prague, 1966) I, 461.

⁹ Pères Augustin and Aloys De Backer, edited by Carlos Sommervogel, S.J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Brussels and Paris, 1896) V, col. 1902, no. 7; Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery: A Bibliography of Emblem-Books* (Rome, 1964²) 553 (erroneously dated to 1579); Dimler, 'A Bibliographical Survey', 300 and 304; Paulina Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Emblematy w drukach polskich i Polski dotyczących XVI-XVIII wieku* (Wrocław, 1981) 47 and 108-109; Dimler, 'Short Title Listing', 173; Piotr Rypson, 'Poezja wizualna i poezja emblematyczna', *Barok*, 3, no. 1 (5) (1996) 77-90 (p. 82); *idem*, 'Visual? Emblematic? Poetry?', *Emblematica*, 10,1 (1996) 1-13 (p. 7); Buchwald-Pelcowa, 'Emblematyka w polskich kolegiach jezuickich', in: *Aries atque humaniora: Studia Stanisłao Mossakowski sexagenario dicata* (Warsaw, 1998) 169-180 (p. 169); Lubomír Koncěný, 'Edmund Campion, S. J., as Emblematist', in: John Manning and Marc van Vaeck (eds.), *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition: Selected Papers of the Leuven International Emblem Conference, 18-23 August, 1996* (Turnhout, 1999) 147-159 (p. 151). The book will be listed in the fifth volume of the bibliography of Jesuit emblem books, by Peter M. Daly and Richard Dimler (in preparation). See also notes 7, 8, 13, 14, 25, 34, 38, 43 and 55.

¹⁰ Dimler, 'A Bibliographical Survey', 300.

Kingdom of Bohemia, preceded only by the 1581 *Empresas morales*, printed in Prague but written by Juan de Borja, the Spanish ambassador at the court of emperor Rudolf II.¹¹ And finally, to the best of my knowledge, the Coricynii *Emblemata* is the only emblem book dealing exclusively with the seven liberal arts. All this given, we believe the volume deserves to be better known among emblem scholars.

Pictura

The book consists of eight folios including the title-page, the verso of which (fol. [A 1v]) carries the only image in the volume (figures 2 and 3).¹² This print has been designed as a circular composition that contains seven smaller emblems of (again) circular shape. These are marked by Arabic numerals 1 to 7, which correspond to the numbering of explanatory epigrams on fols. [A 2v - B 1v], and by the signs which were reproduced as Chaldaic numerals by Giovanni Pierio Valeriano (fig. 4).¹³ The two sets of numbers are further supplemented by astronomical signs of the seven planets. Thus no. 1 corresponds to the Sun (☉), no. 2 to the Moon (☾), no. 3 to Mars (♂), no. 4 to Saturn (♄), no. 5 to Jupiter (♃), no. 6 to Mercury (☿), and no. 7 to Venus (♀). The large circle has been framed by a laurel wreath, at the bottom of which is a small tablet with the following text: 'Samuel Kochanowsky sacrae Poeseos studiosus, sculpsit'. Thus, the engraving has to be attributed to the Polish amateur artist Samuel Kochanowski who, in 1597-1598, also studied in the Jesuit college in Olomouc.¹⁴ His authorship is further confirmed by the coat of

¹¹ On this book, see Praz, *Studies*, 285; Pedro F. Campa, *Emblemata Hispanica: An Annotated Bibliography of Spanish Emblem Literature to the year 1700* (Durham, 1990) 36-37; Lubomír Konečný, 'Quien ilustró Empresas Morales de Juan de Borja', *Ibero-Americana Pragensia*, 26 (1992) 157-64; *idem*, 'La ilustración de las Empresa Morales de Juan de Borja: Erasmo Hornick', *Ars Longa: Cuadernos de Historia de Arte* 3 (1992) 9-12; Václav Černý, *Až do předsíně nebes: Čtrnáct studií o baroku našem i cizím* (Prague, 1996) 11-24; 'Španělská kniha emblémů, v Praze roku 1581 tištěná'; R. García Mahiques, *Emblemas Morales de Juan de Borja: Imagen y palabra para una iconología* (Valencia, 1998).

¹² Since the Prague copy was cropped sometime in the past, our fig. 2 has been taken from the second of the two copies kept in Olomouc (see note 1).

¹³ Giovanni Pierio Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica, seu de sacris Aegyptiorum, aliarumque gentium litteris* (Lyon, 1594) 352. This was recognized by Karl-August Wirth, 'Fingerzahlen', in: *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte* (Munich, 1987) VIII, cols. 1225-1309 (col. 1299).

¹⁴ Readings of this inscription vary. While according to de Backer, *Bibliothèque*, and Praz, *Studies* (553), the name of the artist is 'Samuel Kothenowsky', Polish scholars recognized this must have been Samuel Kochanowski, on whom see Karol Estreicher, *Bibliografia Polska* (Cracow, 1905) XX, 109-111; M. Gumowski, in: Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker (eds.), *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1927)

arms placed at the top of the engraving belonging to the Kochanowski family.¹⁵ The image contains still further, minor or marginal elements, both verbal and visual. But being part and parcel of the message conveyed by the book as a whole, they will be described and analyzed at the end of this article.

Reading the image clockwise, Rhetorica (no. 3) is symbolized by a hand holding Mercury's staff (or caduceus) against a background of flowers. Grammatica (no. 1) is represented by a picture of a nightingale teaching its young to sing, Astronomia (no. 7) by a clock tower, and Dialectica (no. 2) by the hunting scene where Diana blows her horn and a hare is pursued by dogs. The picture of a swan with a river and fishermen in the background, and notes of music above, represents Musica (no. 4); a phoenix with the numbers 100, 200, 300, 400 and 500 written on the chart illustrates Arithmetica (no. 5). And finally, Geometria (no. 6) has been depicted in the center of the composition as a spider's web, surrounded by the following, rebus-like, inscription saying that the seven liberal arts are depicted here by means of emblems: 'Art[e]s [liber, the word represented in the form of a book, in Latin 'liber']al[e]s d[e]pict[ae] [e]mb[li]c[is] mat[er]i[e]c[is]'.

It must be stated right here that this way of representing the liberal arts is completely at odds with their standard iconography.¹⁶ Within the

XXI, 98 (mentioning 'Embleme der Familie Korycinski [1597]'); and M. Lodyńska-Kosińska, in: *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających (zmarłych przed 1966 rokiem): Malarze, rzeźbiarze, graficy* (Wrocław etc., 1986) IV, 51-52.

¹⁵ Cf. S. Górzynski and J. Kochanowski, *Herby szlachty polskiej* (Warsaw, 1992) 83.

¹⁶ The amount of literature dealing with the seven liberal arts is huge, and for the first orientation, see J. Seibert, 'Künste, sieben freie', in: *Lexikon der christlichen Kunst* (Rome, Freiburg, Basle, Vienna, 1970) II, cols. 703-713. Among the pertinent works the following are the most important: Paolo d'Ancona, 'Le rappresentazioni allegoriche delle arti liberali nel medio evo e nel rinascimento', *L'Arte* 5 (1902) 137-155, 211-228, 269-289 and 373-385; Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, 'La Sagesse et ses sept filles. Recherches sur les allégories de la philosophie et des arts libéraux du IX^e au XII^e siècle', in: *Mélanges Felix Grat* (Paris, 1946) I, 245-78; J. Koch (ed.), *Artes liberales. Von der antiken Bildung zur Wissenschaft des Mittelalters* (Leiden and Cologne, 1959); Adolf Katzenellenbogen, 'The Representation of the Seven Liberal Arts', in: M. Clagett, G. Post and R. Reynolds (eds.), *Twelfth Century Europe and the Foundation of the Modern Science* (Madison, 1961) 39-55; Wolfgang Stammeler, 'Aristoteles und die Septem Artes Liberales im Mittelalter', in: Günter Bandmann (ed.), *Der Mensch und die Künste: Festschrift für Heinrich Lützel* (Düsseldorf, 1962) 196-214; Philippe Verdier, 'L'iconographie des arts libéraux dans l'art du moyen âge jusqu'à la fin du quinzième siècle', in: *Arts libéraux et philosophie au moyen âge: Actes du quatrième congrès de philosophie médiévale, Université de Montréal, Montréal, Canada, 27 août - 2 septembre 1967* (Montréal and Paris, 1969) 305-355; Ank C. Esmeijer, 'De VII liberalibus artibus in quadam pictura depictis: Een reconstructie van de arbor philosophiae van Theodulf van Orleans', in: J. Bruyn, J. A. Emmens, E. de Jongh and D. P. Snoep (eds.), *Album amicorum J. G. van Gelder* (The Hague, 1973) 102-112; Michael W. Evans, 'Allegorical women and practical men: the iconography of the artes reconsidered', in: Derek Baker (ed.), *Studies in Church History, Subsidia, I: Medieval Women, Dedicated and Presented to Professor Rosalind M. T. Hill on the occasion of her seventieth birthday* (Oxford,

iconographic tradition of allegorical personifications, largely based on Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* c. 450,¹⁷ the seven liberal arts were represented either as female figures holding in their hands various attributes associated with the relevant art (and sometimes accompanied by figures of their most important practitioners), or by symbolic depictions of the methods concerned. None of these motifs can, however, be found in the Coricynii *Emblemata*, in either its text or illustrations. As it is proclaimed by both the book's title and the inscription around its central emblem, the seven liberal arts are represented here 'symbolically', by means of emblems.

Structure and Motifs of the Seven Individual Emblems

Preceding the seven texts which form the main body of the book, there is an introductory poem entitled 'Sertum laureum septem artes liberales emblematicas coronans' ('Laurel wreath crowning seven emblems of the liberal arts'). The poem opens with a short quotation taken from Virgil's *Aeneid* (VI, 658), 'Inter odoratum lauri nemus' ('Within a fragrant laurel grove'), and exploits various meanings associated with the laurel wreath as a sign of both Palladian studies and of the graduation (fol. [A 2r]).

Only after this brief introduction, the reader finds seven poems which elaborate on the motifs of the seven liberal arts (fol. [A 2v - B 1v]). All of them have the same structure, and each one occupies one page (fig. 4). Beneath their consecutive numbers, succinct titles, mostly derived from a well-known medieval *Merkvers* (mnemotechnical verse), proclaim how the liberal art in

1978) 305-328; Elisabeth Klemm, 'Artes liberales und antike Autoren in der Aldersbacher Sammelhandschrift Clm 2599', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 41 (1978) 1-15. We were not able to consult Michael Evans's Ph.D. thesis *Personifications of the artes from Martianus Capella up to the end of the fourteenth century* (London, 1970). For the purpose of our study, the most relevant however were the articles by Karl-August Wirth listed in notes 13, 17, 20, 23, 34 and 40 to which we would like to add: *idem*, 'Eine unbekannte Quellenschrift – neu gelesen', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3. F. 25 (1974) 47-78 (pp. 50-53 and 68).

¹⁷ For this iconographic tradition, see Ludwig Heinrich Heydenreich, 'Eine illustrierte Martianus Capella-Handschrift des Mittelalters und ihre Kopien im Zeitalter des Frühhumanismus', in: *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien für Hans Kauffmann* (Berlin, 1956) 59-66; *idem*, 'La ripresa "critica" di rappresentazioni medievali delle "Septem Artes Liberales" nel rinascimento', in: *Il mondo antico nel rinascimento: Atti del V Convegno internazionale di studi sul rinascimento*, 2.-6. 9. 1956 (Florence, 1958) 265-273; Franz Rademacher, 'Eine romanische Kleinbronze der "Grammatik". Ein Beitrag zur Darstellung der Sieben Freien Künste im Mittelalter', *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 159 (1959) 260-271; Karl-August Wirth, 'Eine illustrierte Martianus-Capella-Handschrift aus dem 13. Jahrhundert', *Städte-Jahrbuch*, N. F. 2 (1969) 43-74; Florentine Mutherich, 'Die Rhetorica' – Eine Illustration zu Martianus Capella, in: *Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff* (Stuttgart, 1971) 198-206.

question operates.¹⁸ Then follow quotations from classical authors, inserted into ornamental frames. Five of these quotations come from Virgil (nos. 2, 4-7), the remaining two from Cicero (no. 3) and Horace (no. 1). The most extensive part of every page hosts a poem consisting of four, five or six elegiac distichs.¹⁹ The poem stands for a *subscriptio* or epigram in a 'standard' emblem, and the title (*plus* the quotation) for its *inscriptio* (motto or lemma). While in most sixteenth-century emblem books the *picturae* are situated between *inscriptiones* and *subscriptiones*, in the Olomouc *Emblemata* the emblem pictures form a single, circular scheme on the verso of the title-page. The three parts, seen together, form tri-partite emblems as codified by Andrea Alciato. However, to the best of our knowledge, within the category of the sixteenth-century emblem book, the fact that all emblem pictures in one book were brought to form one all-encompassing composition can be seen as a very unusual, if not unique, arrangement.

Gra:[mmatica] loquitur (Grammar speaks)

The text dealing with Grammar starts with a quotation from Horace's *Epistles*, II, 126: 'Os tenerum pueri bal-/bumque'. The sentence harks back to the poet's verse 'The poet fashions the tender, lisping lips of childhood' ('os tenerum pueri balbumque poeta figurat'), and at the same time appears to be in perfect accordance with the emblem text that develops the idea of the nightingale ('luscinia') teaching its young through song — comparing the bird to a mother (specifically to the Roman Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi) who leads her sons to eloquence through the knowledge of Latin. This text corresponds to the *pictura* where the nightingale is seen teaching its young to sing. While such an iconography does not tally with the traditional way of depicting Grammar,²⁰

¹⁸ Cf. Hans Walther, *Carmina medii aevi posteriores Latina*, I/1: *Initia carminum ac versum medii aevi posterioris Latinorum* (Göttingen, 1969²) 366, no. 7273: 'Gra(m). loquitur, Dia. vera docet, Rhe. verba ministrat, M(us). canit, Ar. numerat, Geo. ponderat, As. colit. astra'. The titles slightly differ only in emblems 3 and 7.

¹⁹ For an almost identical arrangement, inscribed 'Emblema' and provided with a motto, but without any *pictura*, see fol. B 4r in *Laurea Partheniae Sodalitatis Academicae*, another print by Handl listed in note 7.

²⁰ On the iconography of Grammar, see especially R. Wittkower, 'Grammatica from Martianus Capella to Hogarth', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 2 (1938-1939) 82-84 (reprint in *idem*, *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols* (London, 1977) 167-171). Also cf. Rademacher, 'Eine romanische Kleinbronze'; and Karl-August Wirth, 'Die kolorierten Federzeichnungen im Cod. 2975 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie der Artes Liberales im 15. Jahrhundert', *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1979) 67-110 (69-72).

the idea of the nightingale teaching its young is found in Aristotle's *Historia animalium* (536b17):

A hen nightingale has before now been observed teaching her chick to sing, which suggests that the 'sing' does not come naturally in the same way as the voice, but is capable of being trained.

Later on, many writers quoted this passage and brought the same information about the life of nightingales. Thus, for instance Aelian, in *De natura animalium* (III, 40), informs that 'Aristotle says that he has with his own eyes seen the young of the Nightingale being instructed by their mother how to sing'. This notion could therefore be seen as the source of the idea of representing Grammar as a nightingale teaching its young through song.²¹ In the epigram, however, there is an interesting detail which does not occur in Aelian's description — the comparison of the mother's milk to her language: 'The mother's milk is healthier and so too is her tongue more learned [*'matris lac purum sanius, atque doctius'*]. Why do I say such things? You have learned the rules of grammar since earliest years'.²² Such an emphasis on the nutritional, and therefore primary, role of grammar in the process of mastering the seven liberal arts must of course be allied with its traditional assessment as '*origo et fundamentum liberalium artium*' by Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologiae* (I, 5, 1) as well as by many others. Accordingly, Grammar introduces the standard sequence of the seven liberal arts consisting of *trivium* (Grammar, Dialectic/Logic, and Rhetoric) and *quadrivium* (Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy).²³

²¹ Cf. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, 214: 'Ut iam Luscinius taccamus Graeco & Latino sermone dociles, [...] ut, si Aristoteli credendum est, observatum sit eam pullos erudisse, [...]'.
²² In his *Iconologia*, first published in 1593, and since then several times augmented and revised, Cesare Ripa said that from the breasts of Grammar 'is pouring a plentiful flow of milk' [...] which 'significa, che la dolcezza della scienza esce dal petto, & dalle viscere della grammatica' (Padua, 1611, p. 210). For the cluster of ideas linked with the sucking of motherly milk in medieval as well as renaissance thought and visual arts, see Max Seidel, 'Ubera Matris: Die vielschichtige Bedeutung eines Symbols in der mittelalterlichen Kunst', *Stadel-Jahrbuch*, N. F. 6 (1977) 41-98; and Lubomír Konečný, 'Hans von Aachen and Lucian: An Essay in Rudolfine Iconography', *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 1 [*Rudolf II and his Court*] (1982) 237-258 (pp. 246-248).

²³ Karl-August Wirth, 'Notes on Some Didactic Illustrations in the Margins of a Twelfth-Century Psalter', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 33 (1970) 20-40 (p. 27) brought attention to the fact that according to ancient and later authors 'Grammar is often introduced only as a preparatory stage before the *cursus* of the *artes liberales*' and 'the teaching of Grammar [...] only paves the way to them' (Seneca, *Epistulae*, 88,20).

Dia:[lectica] vera docet (Dialectic teaches truth; fig. 5)

The opening sentence, 'Venatu assiduo invi-/gilant', combines three words from two different passages of Virgil's *Aeneid* (IX, 244-45 and 603-605). The first of them says that:

vidimus obscuris primam sub vallibus urbem
venatu adsiduo et totum cognovimus annem.

(Down the dim valleys in our frequent hunting we have seen the outskirts of the town and have come to know all the river).

The second describes how

durum a stirpe genus natos ad flumina primum
deferimus saevoque gelu duramus et undis,
venatu invigilant pueri silvasque fatigant
flectere ludus equos et spicula tendere cornu.

(A race of hardy stock, we first bring our new-born sons to the river, and harden them with the water's cruel cold; as boys they keep vigil for the chase, and tire the forests; their sport is to rein the steed and level [...].)

Several motifs featuring in the emblem's *pictura*, such as the hunting net, the dogs and Diana blowing her horn, are described in its epigram, at the end of which logical thinking has been compared to the act of hunting. At first sight, this seems largely different from the usual way of depicting Dialectic. But in one of his articles dealing with the iconography of the *septem artes liberales* in the late medieval art, Karl-August Wirth explained the reasons why dogs, hares, and huntresses came to be used as the allegory of dialectics. Wirth adduced a rich lore ascribing to the dog various, mostly positive, qualities — such as prudence and sagacity: 'nihil autem sagacius canibus' (Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, XII, 2).²⁴ While these qualities made of the dog an apposite symbol (or attribute) of Dialectic, the ultimate source of this iconography can once again be found in a passage from Aelian (VI, 59):

²⁴ For an extensive discussion of dogs and their qualities in medieval thinking, especially in their relation to such concepts as logic or dialectics, see Wirth, 'Die kolorierten Federzeichnungen', 73-79. Also cf. Aristotle, *Historia animalium*, 608a27; or Aelian, *De natura animalium*, VII, 13.

If even animals know how to reason deductively, understand dialectic, and how to choose one thing in preference to another, we shall be justified in asserting that in all subjects Nature is an instructress without a rival. For example, this was told to me by one who had some experience in dialectic and was to some degree a devotee of the chase. There was a Hound, he said, trained to hunt; and so it was on the track of a hare. And the hare was not yet to be seen, but the Hound pursuing came upon a ditch and was puzzled as to whether it had better follow to the left or to the right. And when it seemed to have weighed the matter sufficiently, it leapt straight across. So the man who professed himself both dialectician and huntsman essayed to offer the proof of his statements in the following manner: The Hound paused and reflected and said to itself: 'The hare turned either in this direction or in that or went ahead. It turned neither in this direction nor in that; therefore it went ahead'. And in my opinion he was not being sophistical, for as no tracks were visible on the near side of the ditch, it remained that the hare must have jumped over the ditch.

The similarities between this text and the emblem are obvious, but it was rightly suggested that there might have been an intermediary between the two. In his *Margarita philosophica*, a widely used textbook first printed by Johann Grüninger in Strasbourg in 1504, Gregor Reisch had Dialectic (or 'Typpus logice') represented as a lady with the horn and two dogs following a hare (fig. 6).²⁵ Dame Dialectica was conceived here as 'venatrix Dialectica' accompanied by the dogs signifying 'veritas' and 'falsitas'. A circular fence in the background of the scene serves to restrain them from being entrapped into 'silva opinionum' and 'insolubilia et obliga'.

When inspected at close quarters, two crescents can be discerned in the Dialectics emblem, while none can be found in the Reisch illustration. First of them, placed by the engraver in the lower part of the roundel, makes Dialectic correspond to the Moon according to the linkage between the seven liberal arts and seven planets pointed out above; the second crescent adorns her forehead. This difference, although nearly inconspicuous, suggests that the Coricynii may have understood the image in the book as representing Diana, which is further confirmed by the fact that the goddess was mentioned twice by name in

²⁵ This connection was recognized by, again, Wirth, 'Die kolorierten Federzeichnungen', 103-104 (note 115) and 105 (fig. 28) and reiterated by Karl Josef Höltgen, 'Clever Dogs and Nimble Spaniels: On the Iconography of Logic, Invention, and Imagination', *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, 24 (1998) 1-36 (pp. 24-29 and fig. 15). Representations of dialectics were discussed by Ludwig Heinrich Heydenreich, 'Dialektik', in: *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1954) vol. III, cols. 1387-1400.

the epigram for emblem no. 2. Moreover, at the end of the sixteenth century, the Moon was associated with dialectics even in such a standard iconographic handbook as Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*:

Donna giovane, che porti un'elmo in capo con due penne, l'una bianca, & l'altra nera, & per cimiero una Luna [...]. La luna [...] significa il medesimo [*scil.* diverse opinions], perciocche (come riferisce Pierio Valeriano nel lib. 44 de'suoi Ieroglifici) Clitomaco somigliava la Dialettica alla Luna, per la varietà delle forme, che piglia.²⁶

(A young woman wearing a helmet with two feathers, one white and the other black, with a moon on the helmet's crest [...which] means the same since (as Pierio Valeriano in his book 44 about hieroglyphics reported) Kleitomachos compares Dialectics to the Moon because of the many forms it takes).

It was again Karl-August Wirth who reconstructed the fascinating story of providing dialectic with horns on the forehead. According to him, this iconographic manoeuvre was based on a venerable textual tradition, the core of which consisted of various interpretations of the so-called *sylogismus cornutus*. It may look surprising that, in addition to Ripa, Wirth was able to adduce only one image that had given visual form to the association of horns to the art of dialectics, namely an illumination in the twelfth-century psalter from the Benedictine monastery of S. Benedetto al Po. 'Nowhere else in the Middle Ages', Wirth affirms, 'is Dialectic represented with horns'.²⁷ Now, however, the most curious fact is that the personification of Dialectic in the Coricynii book of 1597 was also horned. It means that its authors either followed the text of the 1593 *editio princeps* of Ripa's iconology, or arrived to the same solution as Ripa did, but on the basis of their own reading of Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* and of other, related texts.²⁸

²⁶ Ripa, *Iconologia*, p. 119. Cf. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, 434: 'Alia tamen ratione Clitomachus, ut apud Stobaeum legere est, Dialecticam Lunae aequiparavit, [...]'. In its wider context, this passage, referring to Stobaios's *Anthology* (II, 2), associates the Moon with Sophists and their arguments. See Wirth, 'Notes', 38.

²⁷ Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, shelf-mark C. III. 20. See Wirth, 'Notes', 34 and fig. 12b.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 39, Wirth states that 'Ripa's *concetto* of Dialectic had no predecessor in pictorial tradition'. Also cf. Heidenreich, 'Dialektik'.

Rhe:[torica] verba colorat (Rhetoric colors the words)

The epigram begins by a quote ('Concedat laurea lin-/guae') originating in Cicero's *De officiis* (I, 22, 77): 'Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi' ('Yield, ye arms, to the toga; to civic praises, ye laurels'). In order to fit Rhetoric more closely, the meaning of Cicero's sentence was changed by replacing the word 'laus' (praise) by 'lingua' (language). In the emblem's *pictura*, the heart which tops the caduceus may be understood in relation to verse 5: 'Concordat contraria corda' (She [*scil.* Rhetoric] reconciles hostile hearts).

Traditionally, the art of rhetoric was associated with the skill of eloquence, its essential feature, as well as with Cicero as its most famous representative. Cicero was also addressed in the emblem's last verse: 'Tullius eloquio victor honorius fuit' (the honorable Tullius wins through eloquence). This is the hint that could suggest the linkage of ideas which might have led to representing Rhetoric by Mercury's staff. But it goes almost without saying that Mercury had been considered as the god of eloquence since antiquity, as it is attested, for instance, by the fountainhead of Renaissance mythography, Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, who wrote that Mercury is 'sermonis deus' (the god of eloquence).²⁹ Moreover, the god was symbolized by his staff that therefore came to be considered the symbol of the art of eloquence.³⁰ In the Olomouc emblem book, Mercury's staff is surrounded by flowers, and this may be understood as an allusion to the fact that rhetorical speech is most effective when embellished with 'flores rhetorici'.³¹

Musi:[ca] canit (Music sings)

The epigram is introduced by a passage from Virgil's *Eclogues* (IX, 29), 'Cantantes sublime ferent / ad Sydera cygni' (singing swans shall bear aloft to the stars). Although Music was usually depicted as a female figure holding various musical instruments as her attributes, representations of Music by the swan are not exceptional because swans had been associated with singing and

²⁹ L. G. Giraldi, 'Syntagma IX: De Mercurio, [...]', in: *Operum quae extant omnium [...] tomi duo* (Basel, 1580) I, 285.

³⁰ For Mercury's staff as a symbol of eloquence, see Hans Martin von Erffa, 'Caduceus', in: *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1954) III, cols. 303-308 (col. 307); Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane: Dictionnaire d'un langage perdu (1450-1600)* (2nd. ed., Geneva, 1997) 82, s. v. 'Caducée, VI'; or, for instance, Philippo Picinelli, *Mundus symbolicus* (Cologne, 1729) 171: 'Mercurius, eloquentiae Deus, [...]. Unde Caduceus, seu Eloquentiae symbolo, inscriptum. Conciliat animos'.

³¹ Wirth, 'Die kolorierten Federzeichnungen', 80.

therefore with music since antiquity (Plato, *Phaidon*, 84-85; Aristotle, *Historia animalium*, 615b2; Aelian, *De natura animalium*, II, 32; V, 34; X, 36). In the Middle Ages, Isidore of Seville wrote that 'the swan is named after its singing' ('Cygnus autem a canendo est apellatus'; *Etymologiae*, XII, 7). Thus the association of the swan with singing, and in this way with music, has a very long tradition and can be considered a well-known topos.³² Also befitting the representation of Music is a tablet with clearly recognizable musical notes and the Latin text 'Laudate nomen [?] domini' (Psalm 148, 5). And finally, the epigram's verse 7, 'Cygni clarorum decorant insignia vatū' (the swans adorn the insignia of the famous poets), clearly repeats the age-old association of the swan with poets.³³

Ar:[ithmetica] numerat (Arithmetic counts)

The poem is ushered in by a text derived from Virgil's *Aeneid* (VI, 681-682): 'Annorumque suorum forte recensebat numerum'. The authors replaced the word 'omnemque' in Virgil's verse 681 by the word 'annorumque' in order to better accommodate it to the content of their epigram, i.e. to the motif of counting. The art of Arithmetic is represented here by the *pictura* of the phoenix hovering above a burning pile of wood placed under the Sun, and counting his years by means of the tablet on which the numbers 100, 200, 300, 400 and 500 are written.³⁴ These indicate the allotted years of the bird's life, in accordance with the legend saying that it will live for five hundreds years, after which the phoenix immolates itself to become a new bird. As with most of the others representations of the seven liberal arts in the 1597 emblem book, this image has nothing in common with standard depictions of arithmetic. Its source, again, can be found in Aelian's book about animals (VI, 58):

³² See de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles*, 172. For an ample discussion of the swan symbolism, especially in emblematics, see José Julio García Arranz, *Ornitología emblemática: Las aves en la literatura simbólica ilustrada en Europa durante los siglos XVI y XVII* (Cáceres, 1996) 271-305.

³³ García Arranz, *Ornitología*, 272-279. From the visual point of view, the Olomouc emblem may have been inspired by emblem no. 22 in Joachim Camerarius's *Symbolorum & emblematum ex volatilibus et insectis desumtorum centuria tertia* (Nuremberg, 1596).

³⁴ Except for the tablet, the Olomouc *pictura* can be again compared to a similar image in Camerarius, no. 100: 'Vita mihi mors est'; see Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1967) col. 795. Without referring to Aelian, the link between Arithmetic and the phoenix in the Coricynii emblem no. 6 has been pointed out by Karl-August Wirth, 'Neue Schriftquellen zur deutschen Kunst des 15. Jahrhunderts: Einträge in einer Sammelhandschrift des Sigmund Gossembrot (Cod. lat. mon. 3941)', *Städte-Jahrbuch*, N. F. 6 (1977) 319-408 (396, note 125).

The Phoenix knows how to reckon five hundred years without the aid of arithmetic, for it is a pupil of all-wise nature, so that it has no need of fingers or anything else to aid it in the understanding of numbers. The purpose of this knowledge and the need for it are matters of common report.

The notion that the phoenix can reckon its years, which occurs in Aelian's text, perfectly matches both the emblem's epigram and *pictura*, thus making clear that the Aelian might have been used as the primary source in conceiving the representation of Arithmetic by the image of the phoenix.³⁵

Geo:[metria] ponderat (Geometry considers)

This is the only case in the book of an epigram introduced by a quotation from Virgil's *Georgics* (IV, 6), 'In tenui labor at tenuis / non gloria' ('Slight is the field of toil; but not slight the glory'). The epigram itself begins with the words 'In centro laxos' (in the spacious center), and this opening accords well with the concept of representing Geometry as a spider placed in the center of its web.³⁶ This is further developed in the sequence of associations suggesting that the spider's ability to spin the web reveals its remarkable mathematical skills. At the end of the poem, its authors employed the story told by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* (VI, 5-145) of the transformation of Arachne into a spider as punishment for her attempt to rival Athene in weaving: 'Victa Magisterio Palladis, inde fera est' ('vanquished by the art of Pallas Athene she became a beast').

Nevertheless, a direct source for the association of the spider's web with Geometry can again be found in Aelian's *De natura animalium* (VI, 57):

It seems after all that Spiders are not only dexterous weavers after the manner of Athena the Worker and goddess of the Loom, but they are by nature clever at geometry. Thus, they keep to the centre and fix with the

³⁵ The idea of calling phoenix 'unica solis avis' (in the epigram) was ubiquitous. For an extensive discussion of meanings associated with this fabulous bird, see de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles*, 357-359, and in particular Arranz, *Ornitología*, 333-361 (with further bibliography).

³⁶ For another emblem depicting a spider in its web, with the motto 'In centro', see Julius Zinggreff, *Emblematum ethico-politicorum centuria* (Heidelberg, 1619) no. 38 (also in Henkel and Schöne, *Emblemata*, col. 938). Since Zinggreff used the motive as referring to the ruler as the center of his imperium, there is little possibility that he would have been inspired by the Olomouc *Emblemata*. More spider emblems can be found in Judith Dundas, 'Arachne's Web: Emblem into Art', *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies*, 2 (1987) 109-137.

utmost precision the circle with its boundary based upon it, and have no need of Euclid, for they sit at the very middle and lie in wait for their prey.

There are a lot of details in Aelian's text, which are very close to the information found in the Coricynii epigram. According to the both parties, spiders are experts in Geometry and possess great mathematical abilities; and Aelian's comparison of the spider's art to Euclid's is also present in the poem. All these similarities convincingly show that *De natura animalium* might have played a major role in conceiving the idea of representing Geometry through the image of a spider placed in the centre of its web.

As:[tronomia] docet astra (Astronomy teaches about the stars)

The poem dealing with Astronomy has been introduced by a text selected from two verses of Virgil's *Aeneid* (III, 359-60): 'Qui numina Phoebi / Qui sydera sentis'. It creates a meaning which differs from that of its source, and, at the same time, directs one's attention to the stars. The emblem's *pictura* shows the cock looking at a clock tower under the sun's rays, which seems to have been triggered off by the habit of the cock to lift its eyes toward the sky (and toward stars), as well as to announce the morning and evening hours:

Te docet erectos ad sydera vultus,
Seu veniente die sive cadente die.

The poem begins with the statement that even lions are terrified by the cock — an idea harking back to Aelian (III, 31) who wrote that 'The Lion dreads a Cock, and the Basilisk too, they say, goes in fear of the same bird'.³⁷ The principal motif of the cock that, like an astronomer, is able to announce with its voice the hours of the day, may have been derived from, for instance, the widely popular work *De planctu Naturae* by Alain de Lille (Alanus ab Insulis): 'Illic gallus, tanquam vulgaris astrologus, suae vocis horologio horarum loquebatur discrimina'.³⁸

³⁷ Also see Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, 7. This motif and related emblems were amply analyzed by Arranz, *Ornitología*, 392-398.

³⁸ See Wirth, 'Die kolorierte Federzeichnungen', 107, note 141 (and 141a), who refers to *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammists of the Twelfth Century* (London-Oxford, 1872) II, 438. Also cf. Arranz, *Ornitología*, 363-403.

The Seven Liberal Arts, the Seven Planets, and Other Connections

After the seven emblems just discussed, which represent the main body of the book, three further texts of various length were added. Entitled 'Corona philosophica' (The crown or wreath of philosophy), the first of them (fol. [B 2r-3r]) opens with a quote from Virgil's *Aeneid* (I, 655): 'Duplicem gemmis auroque: / Coronam' ('double circlet of jewels and gold'). This short poem, recalling the well-known fact that Romans rewarded capable men for their virtues with various wreaths or *coronae*, closes with the following questions: 'What will the Academy or Science give to new Masters of Liberal Arts as a proper and beautiful reward? Oh, say what kind of wreath do you wish to adorn your heads as a reward for your mental exertions?' From the text printed on fol. [A 2r], we already know it was 'sertum laureum', but the Coricynii list also other wreaths: 'corona obsidionalis sive graminea' ('made from the green grass'), 'corona civica' ('made from the leaves of the sacred oak'), 'corona muralis' ('or the mural crown'), 'corona castrensis vallaris' ('the rampart or the camp crown'), 'corona navalis' ('made from the beaks of ships'), and the wreath made from the Sun, the Moon and the stars, which 'the emperor Caligula gave to those who permanently, day and night, observed the position and the enemies'.³⁹

The second text at the end of the book is called, significantly, 'Affinitas et coniunctio septem musarum cum septem planetis' ('The relationship and the connection of the seven muses with the seven celestial bodies', fol. [B 3v]). It begins with the affirmation that there are only seven Muses, each of them protected by one of the seven celestial bodies. The seven selected Muses are connected with the seven planets by means of specific but rather vague associations: 'Terpsichore calls Mars to war by her song, Saturn loves Polyhymnia and Thalia loves Venus. Melpomene is dear to the Sun and Erato is dedicated to Jupiter. In singing about history Clio worships the Moon, while Mercury composes songs with Euterpe'.

Now, as has been mentioned, each *pictura* in the work of the Coricynii representing one of the *septem artes liberales* was marked by the sign of one of the seven celestial bodies, thus linking the seven liberal arts to the Muses as

³⁹ This brief, poetic, treatment bears comparison to that in Claude Paradin and Gabrielle Symeoni, *Symbola heroica* (Antwerp, 1583) 259-265. The topic was discussed in numerous ancient as well as renaissance texts which are conveniently listed and summarized in Carolus Paschalius, *Coronae* (Leiden, 1671 [first printed in Paris, 1610]) 479-500. For an exemplary analysis of one of them, the *corona civica*, see Vladimír Juřen, 'Civium servator': Bertoldos Medaille auf Lorenzo il Magnifico', *Umění* 19 (1971) 75-82. It should be mentioned in this context, that sixteen *coronae* were discussed in *Musaeae stagirica prima*, printed 1603 in Olomouc (see note 7).

well. Neither of the two linkages is so exceptional in medieval and Renaissance thought as it may appear. The well-known example of the connection between the liberal arts and the Muses can be found in Herrad of Landsberg *Hortus Deliciarum*. Perhaps the most famous miniature of this twelfth-century encyclopaedia depicts a *rota* or circle with Philosophy enthroned in its center and surrounded by personifications of the seven liberal arts. In the now-lost original manuscript, this drawing was preceded by an obviously related image showing the nine Muses.⁴⁰ Concerning the seven planets and liberal arts, 'the two groups', as Karl-August Wirth stated, 'are usually referred to as a whole, without any attempt to show a connection between their individual members'. He nevertheless adduced several exceptions to this rule, but the correspondences are never identical.⁴¹

The book terminates by an epigram addressed to 'curioso Momo', and briefly exploring the issue of 'what metals lie under each of the [seven] planets' (fol. [B 4r]). Once again using the appropriate astronomical signs, the Coricynii relate Mercury to tin, the Moon to silver, Venus to bronze, the Sun to gold, Jupiter to electrum, Mars to iron, and Saturn to lead.⁴² This modest piece of poetry brings in a final set of correspondencies in the book revolving around the number seven.

More Connections and the Final Conclusion

We start this section by bringing to your attention several minor visual motifs in the book, that have remained unmentioned until now. The two hands

⁴⁰ Leopold D. Ettlinger, 'Muses and Liberal Arts: Two Miniatures from Herrad of Landsberg's *Hortus Deliciarum*', in: Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibberd and Milton J. Lewine (eds.), *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower* (London, 1967) 29-35; Michael W. Evans, in: Rosalie Green (a.o., eds.), *The Hortus Deliciarum of Herrad of Landsberg: Reconstruction* (London and Leiden, 1979) 104-106, no. 33; Karl-August Wirth, 'Von mittelalterlichen Bildern und Lehrfiguren im Dienste der Schule und des Unterrichts', in: Bernd Moeller, Hans Patze and Karl Stackmann (eds.), *Studien zum städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit: Bericht über Kolloquien der Kommission zur Erforschung der Kultur des Spätmittelalters 1978 bis 1981* [Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 3. F., no. 127] (Göttingen, 1983) 256-370 (344-352). In the sixteenth century, Muses and arts were brought together by Giraldi in his 'Syntagma de Musis' of 1511, in *Operum quae extant omnium*, I, 532 and 535 — the latter passage quoted by Victoria L. Goldberg, 'Graces, Muses, and Arts: The Ums of Henry II and Francis I', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 29 (1966) 206-218 (p. 216).

⁴¹ Wirth, 'Notes', 39, esp. note 96, quoting Dante's *Convivio*, II, 13-15 ('comparazione ch'è nell'ordine de'cieli a quello delle scienze'); and Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo* (Florence, 1584) 4; and reproducing a miniature from an Upper German fifteenth-century manuscript (Pl. 12c).

⁴² These and similar analogies were common in alchemical writings. See Grilhot de Givry, *Witchcraft, Magic and Alchemy* (New York, 1971) 338, with reference to Pierre de Scudalapis, *Sympathia septem metallorum* (Paris, 1610).

sandwiched between roundels nos. 6 and 1 were shown, again by Karl-August Wirth, to come from the same page in Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*, from which the Chaldaic numerals had been taken (fig. 7). In the book, the two hands perform numbers 1 (on the right) and 100 (on the left), as they are counted on fingers.⁴³ Another hand, this time holding a crown, points out from emblem no. 2. Accompanied by the inscription 'Victori', it may be associated with the neighbouring image that shows a lion killing a bear. As far as these motifs are concerned, we can guess what they meant approximately, but we are not able to grasp their specific meaning. In fact, we are not even able to say whether the reason for their inclusion was serious or not. The latter solution may be suggested by the 'image' placed to the left of roundel no. 7, consisting of capital letter N followed by what could be two pairs of stones or footsteps. Taking into account that an image of the book was used for the word 'liber' in the text surrounding the central emblem of Geometry, it seems likely that this is a rebus as well. Unfortunately, we are not able to decipher its meaning, and likewise do not know why the letters 'PR' were inserted between the two emblems, and what their meaning is ('Poetae et Rhetores' [?]). And finally, another riddle lurks left inside the big roundel. Seen from the center of the page, the image in question consists of three male profiles looking to the right; seen from the opposite direction, it changes into other heads of three men, this time bearded and looking leftwards. Obviously, this is a visual pun, but, at the same time, it could be an (again playful) allusion to the three parts of philosophy — *naturalis, physica, moralis* — as seen, for example, on the title-page of Reisch's *Margarita philosophica*.⁴⁴ Moreover, next to the three heads, there is an inscription '3 votum', that may be related to the process of defending the thesis and the subsequent graduation of the student at the Jesuit academy.

In the upper part of the emblem image, various kinds of birds are depicted as symbols of the air: a bird of paradise and a stork on the left, accompanied by a parrot and a chameleon to the right of emblem no. 3. At the

⁴³ Wirth, 'Fingerzahlen', col. 1299. More information on Valeriano's style of the finger-counting can be found elsewhere in this excellent article: cols. 1229 and 1282. Wirth also called attention to the Roman numerals I and C placed within the Grammar emblem in such a way that they contradict the numbers counted by the hands below them — 'Irrtum oder eine weitere Verrätselung?' Although not able to answer this question, we nevertheless dare suggest that at least one of the two numbers may refer to the Virgin Mary, for according to Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*, 364, 'centenarius numerus, Virginalis, ut sacrarum literarum interpretes tradunt, appellatur'. The same author (p. 353) interprets number 1 as 'unitatis indicium', and this could be related to the unity of members of the Marian sodality to which the two Coricynii brothers belonged. For further interpretive possibilities, see Heinz Meyer, *Die Zahlenallegorese im Mittelalter: Methode und Gebrauch* (Munich, 1975) 109–112 and 177–178.

⁴⁴ See Wirth, 'Von mittelalterlichen Bildern', 337–338, 352 and fig. 38. For more on *partes philosophiae* and their visual rendering: *ibid.*, 273–274.

opposite side of the circle are animals living on earth — among them a crocodile, a unicorn, two smaller reptiles, *plus* the lion and bear. On the left of the image, a cancer and a tortoise serve as symbols of water, and a salamander amidst the fire appears on the opposite side of the circle as a symbol of the element of fire.⁴⁵ All these creatures are traditional representatives of the four elements, and we believe there is no need to elucidate the reasons behind this or that particular choice.⁴⁶ The only exception may be the chameleon's relationship to the element of air, which goes as far back as to Pliny's *Natural History* (VIII, 51), where one can read that this animal 'never eats or drinks, and lives only on the air'.⁴⁷ This is undoubtedly why the chameleon was used as a symbol or attribute of air in at least two sixteenth-century representations of the four elements (fig. 8).⁴⁸

Looking at these animals anew, at least one playful element appears to have crept in — the speaking parrot. Already Aristotle (*Historia animalium*, 597b27) wrote that this bird was 'said to be human-tongued (and it becomes even more outrageous after drinking wine)', and therefore able to talk.⁴⁹ Moreover, as many later authorities believed, the parrot 'ex natura [...] salutat dicens 'ave' vel χαῖρε' (Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, XII, vii, 24). Thus the

⁴⁵ The most relevant ancient texts are: Aristotle, *Historia animalium*, 552b15, and Plinius, *Naturalis historia*, X, 86. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, 151, characterizes the animal as 'ab igne circumfuso non offensus'. Further cf. André Chastel, 'La salamandre', *Revue de l'Art* 16-17 (1972) 151-152 and 168-169; Red., 'Salamander', in: *Lexikon der christlichen Kunst* (Rome etc., 1972) IV, cols. 11-12; de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles*, 388-390.

⁴⁶ This subject was frequent among sixteenth-century Netherlandish prints. See Klaus Popitz, *Die Darstellung der vier Elemente in der niederländischen Graphik von 1565 bis 1630* (Diss. Munich, 1965); *De vier elementen: Vuur, lucht, arde, water*, exh. cat. (Rotterdam, 1966); Ilya Veldman, 'Goltzius' zintuigen, seizoenen, elementen, planeten en vier tijden van de dag: van allegorie naar genre voorstelling', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 42-43 [Goltzius-Studies: Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617] (1991-1992) 307-336 (319-323). For more on the representation of the Four Elements in visual arts, see Gerhart Frey and Ellen J. Beer (with Karl-August Wirth) 'Elemente', in: *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1958) IV, cols. 1256-1288; Ursula Nilgen, 'Elemente, vier', in: *Lexikon der christlichen Kunst* (Rome etc., 1968) I, cols. 600-606; Andor Pigler, *Barockthemen: Eine Auswahl von Verzeichnissen zur Ikonographie des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Budapest, 1974²) II, 507-511.

⁴⁷ Cf. Ripa, *Iconologia*, p. 132: '& à i piedi di detta figura [scil. the personification of Air] vi farà un camelconte, come animale, che no mangia cosa alcuna, ne beve: ma solo d'aria si pasce, & vive. Ciò riferisce Plinio nel lib. 8. cap. 33'.

⁴⁸ The first of them is the title-print for the 1581 series representing the Seven Planets and Ages of Man, and engraved by Adriaen Collart after designs by Maarten de Vos (Veldman, 'De macht', 37-46); the second Hendrick Goltzius's *Lucht* of 1586 (B. 18), for which see Veldman, 'Goltzius's zintuigen', 319 (fig. 219) and 320; and the title page of Laurentius Haechtman's emblem book *Μικροκόσμος Parvus mundus* (Antwerp: G. de Jode, 1579).

⁴⁹ For various texts connected with the parrot and its symbolic meanings, see E. K. J. Reznicek, 'De reconstructie van "t' Altaer van S. Lucas" van Maerten van Heemskerck', *Oud-Holland*, 70 (1955) 233-246 (pp. 239-242); and Wirth, 'Neue Schriftquellen', 353-354.

bird came to be associated with the human speech and the art of rhetoric.⁵⁰ Accordingly, it is hardly fortuitous that the parrot is depicted near to the roundel representing Rhetoric in the Olomouc emblem book. The Greek words the bird pronounces, 'χαῖρε σοφὲ' (Hail to you, the wise man), were mockingly addressed to any viewer/interpreter of the image, to fellow students of the Corycinii, as well as to us. This may also explain why the last 'epigram' in the book is directed to Momus, an ancient envious character known for being always ready with malevolent criticism.⁵¹

Pondering over these seemingly conflicting aspects of the Olomouc *Emblemata*, we believe the book was written in accordance with the humanistic ideal of *serio ludere*, according to which, as Edgar Wind phrased it, 'the deepest things are best spoken in a tone of irony'.⁵² In the Jesuit college in Olomouc, the teaching as well as the knowledge of various genres of poetry was fairly impressive, and so was the number of playful literary forms practised by its students.⁵³ If so, it remains to be asked what the serious side was of the Coricynii enterprise. In our view, this is suggested by the 'formal' sources used for conceiving the pamphlet's sevenfold image of the *artes liberales*. The engraving links together all the ideas and motifs which constitute the semantic field of the text. Like a spider spinning its web, and rendered in its center, the emblem image at the beginning of the book conjoins the seven liberal arts, the seven planets, and the four elements into one complex circular composition fraught with meanings and connotations. The seven Muses and the seven metals enrich this numerological concordance later

⁵⁰ Some medieval writers interpreted the parrot as a symbol of Mary's virginal motherhood. See Reznicek, 'De reconstructie', p. 241. For the influence this idea exerted on the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century art: Erwin Panofsky, *Problems in Titian, Mostly Iconographic* (New York, 1969) 28-29; and Wolfgang Stechow, 'Peter Paul Rubens's Deborah Kip, Wife of Sir Balthasar Gerbier, and Her Children', *Studies in the History of Art*, [5] (1985) 7-22 (p. 9).

⁵¹ At the very end of the *Applausus Hieroglyphici* (fol. D 4r), published also in 1597 (see note 7), there was printed a piece entitled 'Poeta ad Momum', which suggests that, among students of the Jesuit college in Olomouc, this figure must have been quite popular. For ancient literary sources, see K. Tümpel, in: W. H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1894-1897) II, cols. 3117-3119. For Momus's early modern afterlife, cf. David Cast, 'Marten van Heemskerck's *Momus criticizing the works of the gods*: a problem of Erasmian iconography', *Simiolus*, 7 (1974) 22-34; and Ilja M. Veldman, 'Maarten van Heemskerck and Hadrianus Junius: the relationship between a painter and a humanist', *ibid.*, 35-54 (pp. 38-42); see also Heesakkers' analysis of Junius' opening emblem on Momus, in this volume, esp. pages 49-54.

⁵² Wind, *Pagan Mysteries*, 236. For the proximity between the emblem and the joke, two literary forms intending to provide moral instruction as well as amusement, and resembling each other in general subject matter, see Barbara C. Bowen, 'Two literary genres: the emblem and the joke', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 15 (1985) 29-35.

⁵³ Non-standard literary production of the Olomouc Jesuits was recently discussed by Rypson, 'Visual?', 6-7.

in the text of the book.⁵⁴ The circular shape of the emblem resembles medieval *rotae* which represented the system of God's world as well as the division of human knowledge.⁵⁵ The drawing in Herrad's *Hortus Deliciarum*, mentioned above, can be interpreted as such a diagram.⁵⁶ From this point of view, the image in the Olomouc *Emblemata* bears comparison to the distribution of the seven reliefs representing the liberal arts on the tympanon of the northern transept of the cathedral in Clermont-Ferrand (fig. 9). Moreover, analogous encyclopedic intentions are clearly discernible behind the title-print of the 1581 series by Maarten de Vos and Adriaen Collart, that shows not only the seven planets in their correspondence with the seven ages of man, but also the four elements.⁵⁷ The Coricynii brothers and Samuel Kochanowski may have been inspired not only by medieval *rotae*, like those in the *Hortus Deliciarum* or in Clermont-Ferrand, but also by Renaissance title-prints or title-pages.

Let us summarize the previous findings. The pamphlet discussed in this article does not tally with the format typical of the 'Alciatian' emblem book. Although our analysis has shown that the authors knew Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*, and may have known the emblem books by Camerarius, Paradin, and Reusner, they obviously did not have much interest in emblem theory or in the agreed-upon standards and formats of the genre. At the same time, the images in the book represent a very unusual way of depicting the seven liberal arts in the form of (mostly) animal emblems, and not by means of traditional female personifications. It clearly seems that, except for Reisch's *Margarita philosophica*, the literary sources took the upper hand in the process of conceiving the book's individual emblems. The fundamental role among

⁵⁴ See Meyer, *Die Zahlenallegorese*, 133-139; *idem* and Rudolf Suntrup, 'Zum Lexikon der Zahlenbedeutungen im Mittelalter: Einführung in die Methode und Probeartikel: Die Zahl 7', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 11 (1977) 1-73. According to Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, 356, this number can signify 'Deus'.

⁵⁵ For the best study of *rotae*, *arbores*, and other encyclopedic *schemata* of visual didactic, see Wirth, 'Von mittelalterlichen Bildern', 343-358, where the Coricynii book is once again mentioned (p. 358, note 317). Also cf. Jurgis Baltrušaitis, *Cosmographie chrétienne dans l'art du moyen-âge* (Paris, 1939); Anna C. Esmeijer, *Divina Quaternitas: A Preliminary Study in the Method and Application of Visual Exegesis* (Assen and Amsterdam, 1978); and Michael Evans, 'The Geometry of the Mind', *Architectural Association Quarterly*, 12,4 (1980) 32-35.

⁵⁶ On this image, see note 40, and for its genesis: Michael Masi, 'A Newberry Diagram of the Liberal Arts', *Gesta* 11 (1972) 52-56; and *idem*, 'Boethius and the Iconography of the Liberal Arts', *Latomus* 33 (1974) 57-75.

⁵⁷ As suggested by Ilja Veldman, 'De macht van de planeten', 41 and 45-46, de Vos might have been inspired by a mid sixteenth-century fresco by Christofano Gherardi in Florence, where the seven ages of men were combined with the seven virtues, seven liberal arts, seven planets and several other concepts.

them was played by Aelian's *Historia animalium*,⁵⁸ supplemented by auxiliary informations, provided by Aristotle, Isidore of Seville, and Alain de Lille. The composite image in the Olomouc emblem book can be related to the variety of conceptual schemes of the circular shape which visualize numerically related abstract concepts, such as are medieval *rotae* and Renaissance title-pages. Seen in this light, the image under scrutiny may be interpreted as an emblematic diagram of the knowledge of the word, based on the mastery of the seven liberal arts. To its authors, the brothers Andreas and Christophorus Coricynii, the small emblem book offered the opportunity to show off their learning as well as their wit.

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⁵⁸ This is supported by the fact that the passages dealing with the respective animals follow each immediately after other in Aelian's work.

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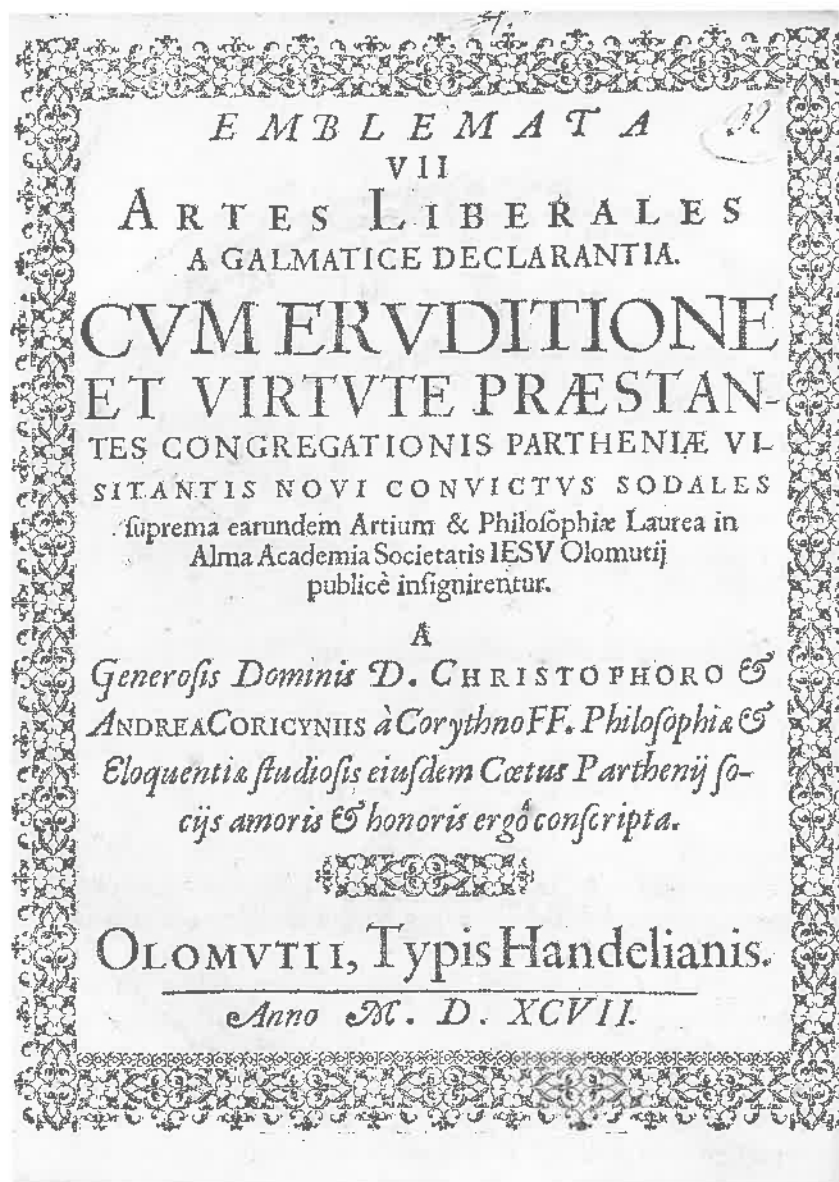


Figure 1: Title-page of Christophorus and Andreas Coricynius, *Emblemata VII Artes Liberales a galmatice declarantia* (Olomouc, 1597). Photo: National Library, Prague.

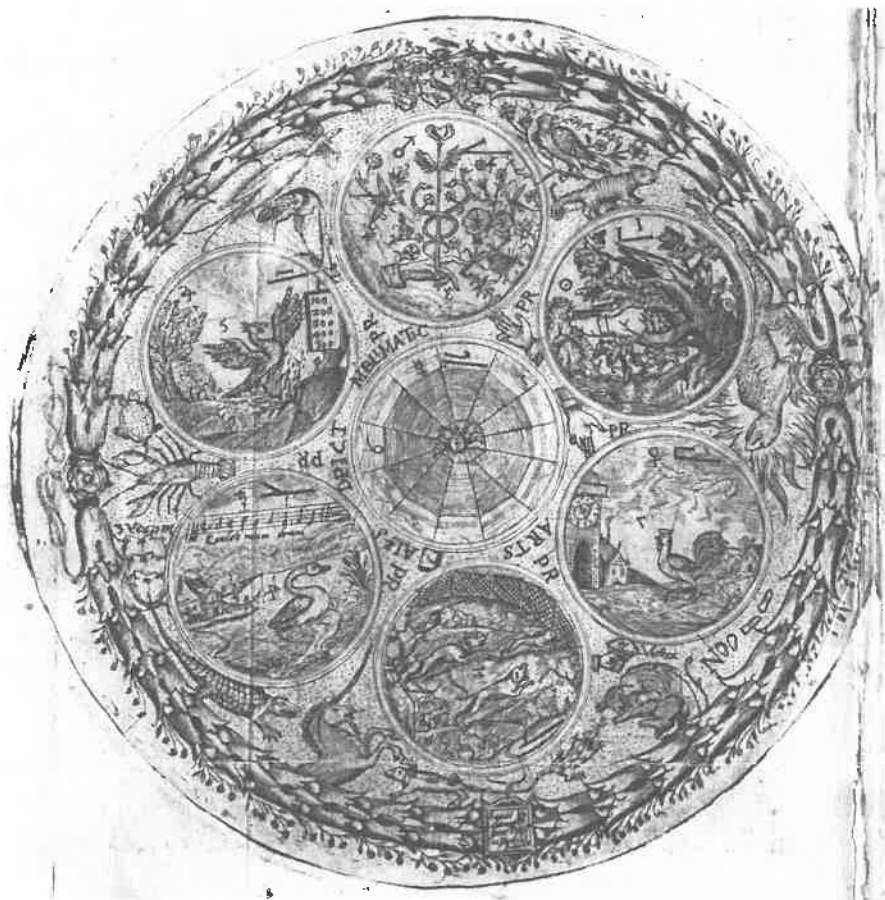


Figure 2: C. and A. Coricynius, *Emblemata* (Olomouc, 1597) fol. [A 1v].
Photo: Zemský archiv, Opava.

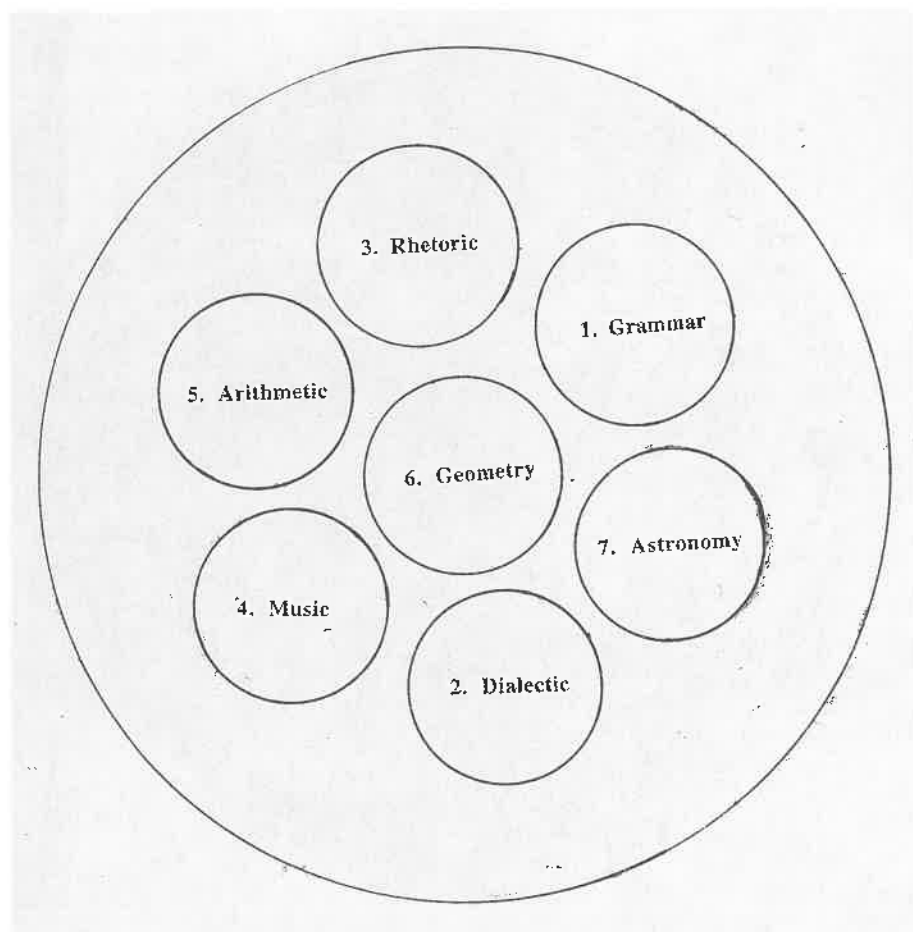


Figure 3: Scheme of the title-page. Drawing: J. Lencová, Prague.

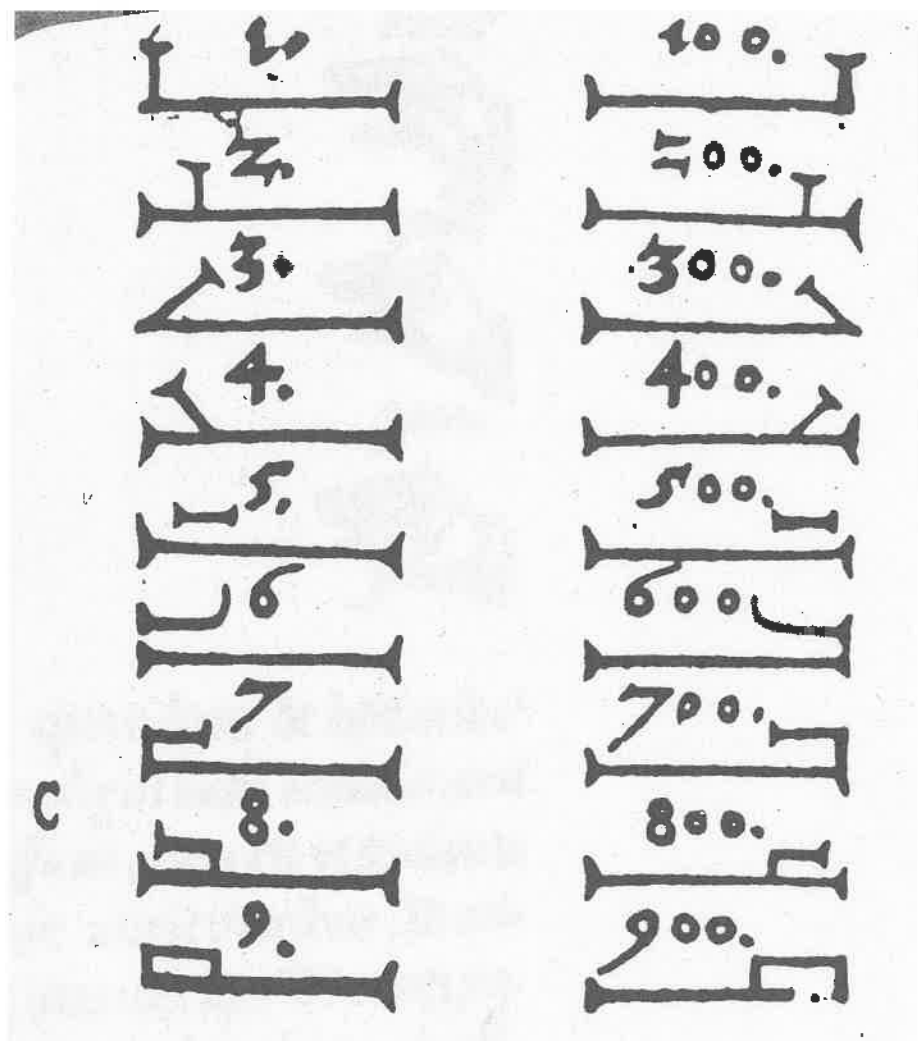


Figure 4: Giovanni Pierio Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* (Lyon, 1602) 383. Photo: Institute of Art History, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague.

EMBLEMA II.
DIA: VERA DOCET.

VENATV ASSIDVO INVL
gilant. 9. Aen.

RETIA tensa vides, dat CORNV signa DIANA,
Curre LEPVS, celerant in tuafata CANES.

Pollet odoratu canis hic, canis ille volatu,
Fide tuis pedibus, vix tamen effugies.

Cum DIALECTICA habet, quid nā canis atq₃ Diana?

Quid lepus auritus? quidue dolosa plaga?

Syncerus LOGICVS definit, collocat aptè,
(Socratis vsq₃ memor) diuidit atq₃ docet,

Ut non effugiat quicquam, tot retibus obstat,
Tot sequitur canibus: nonne Sophista times?

Figure 5: C. and A. Coricynius, *Emblemata* (Olomouc, 1597) fol. [A 3r].
Photo: National Library, Prague.

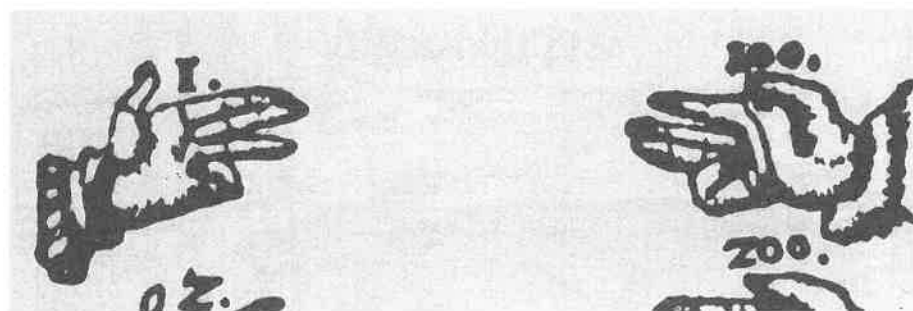


Figure 7: Giovanni Pierio Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* (Lyon, 1602) 384. Photo: Institute of Art History, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague.



Figure 8: Adriaen Collaert after Maarten de Vos, title-print of a *Series of Seven Planets and Four Ages of Man* (1581). Photo: Institute of Art History, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague.

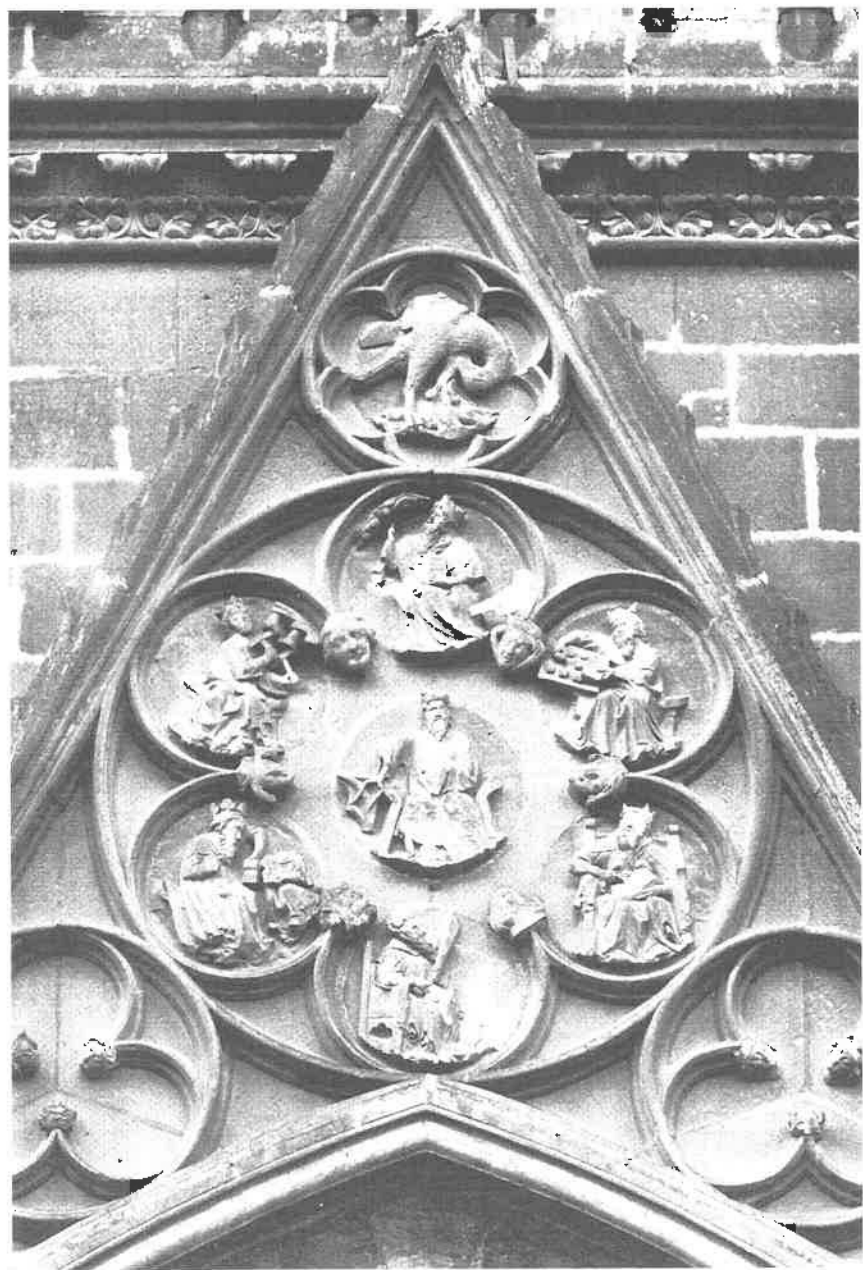


Figure 9: Reliefs representing the seven liberal arts. Tympanon of the northern transept of the cathedral in Clermont-Ferrand (c. 1270). Photo: Institute of Art History, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague.

The Painter and the Poet: the *Nucleus Emblematum* by De Passe and Rollenhagen

ILJA VELDMAN AND CLARA KLEIN

Introduction to the Book and its Makers

Ideally, word and image play an equal role in the art of emblems, each on the basis of its own expressive power.¹ This is certainly true of the 100 emblems of *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum, quae Itali vulgo impresas vocant* (4to, 1611; 'The kernel of very select emblems which the Italians commonly call impresas').² Crispijn de Passe (1564-1637), a well-known draughtsman, engraver and print publisher working in Cologne at the time, designed and engraved the pictures.³ The epigrams were composed by the young jurist Gabriel Rollenhagen (1583-1619) from Magdeburg, the son of the scholar and poet Georg Rollenhagen.

Gabriel, a Lutheran, enrolled at the University of Leipzig in 1602 in order to pursue the study of law. He continued reading Greek and Latin in the meantime, and he applied himself to writing; his *Vier Bücher Wunderbarlicher Indianischer reysen*, based on authors such as Pliny and Lucian, was published in 1603. Gabriel enrolled at the Faculty of Law of the University of Leiden on 25 April 1605, at the age of twenty-three. There he made the acquaintance of Jozef Scaliger and Hugo Grotius, and became especially good friends with Daniel Heinsius, who encouraged him to publish a volume of poems, *Juvenilia* (Magdeburg, 1606).⁴ The epigram section of the

¹ The authors are indebted to Michael Hoyle for his translations and his assistance with the English text.

² J. Landwehr, *German Emblem Books 1531-1888. A Bibliography* (Utrecht, 1972) no. 510. See C.-P. Warncke's edition of G. Rollenhagen, *Sinn-Bilder. Ein Tugendspiegel* (Dortmund, 1983) for reproductions of the emblems. The facsimile edition of the 1611 edition of the *Nucleus* (Hildesheim, Zürich and New York, 1985) contains the Latin forewords, dedication and laudatory poems. There are fine copies of both volumes in the Hofbibliothek in Vienna (74 G 64) and the University Library, Leiden (20643 C 45), while the University Library in Amsterdam has only a copy of the *Nucleus* (976 G 7).

³ Several of these designs have survived. Those for emblems 20 and 62 are in the Leiden University Printroom, and for emblems 26 and 39 in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam. The drawing for emblem 45 was sold at Sotheby's, Amsterdam, on 6 November 1978 (no. 48).

⁴ For some information about Rollenhagen's life and works see K.T. Gaedertz, *Gabriel Rollenhagen, sein Leben und seine Werke. Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur, des*

Juvenilia is dedicated to Heinsius, but also to the learned Janus Gruterus in Heidelberg and Fredrick Taubmann, professor in Wittenberg. As we shall demonstrate below, the concept of the the *Nucleus* was inspired by the *Quaeris quid sit amor* (Amsterdam, 1601), a collection of love emblems by Heinsius with engravings by Zacharias Dolendo after Jacques de Gheyn the Younger, and with mottoes by Hugo Grotius (fig. 10).

Gabriel Rollenhagen was back in Magdeburg in 1606, where he became *vicarius* (deputy or 'caretaker manager' of the cathedral), and *pronotarius* (first notary) from 1614 on. He produced hardly any literary works after that; composing Neo-Latin poetry was apparently just a (although socially relevant) sideline, as it was for many of his learned colleagues. The *Nucleus emblematum* remains one of his few achievements in this field.

The engraver Crispijn de Passe had been forced to leave Antwerp in 1589 because of his Anabaptist faith, and had gone to live in Cologne, where he set up a productive and successful print publishing house, assisted by four of his children – the De Passe family oeuvre runs to more than 14,000 prints and around 50 illustrated works. Crispijn de Passe was an accomplished draughtsman, and at least half of the prints he made are after his own designs. Although being a craftsman in the first place, De Passe seemed to have been an intellectual rooted in a humanist tradition with multifaceted talents and interests. Not only was he an outstanding and commercially minded professional with an international network of contacts, but he also set great store by moral and religious ideals. He numbered several scholars among his good friends, among whom Carel Utenhove, Matthias Quad and Arnout van Buchell, and all three wrote Latin poems for his prints. A special friend was Janus Gruterus of Antwerp, who was appointed librarian of the famous Bibliotheca Palatina in Heidelberg in 1602. De Passe regularly visited Gruterus when he went to Germany in order to visit the Frankfurt Messe.⁵ We shall demonstrate below that it was probably Janus Gruterus, a friend of Rollenhagen as well, who brought Rollenhagen and De Passe together.

De Passe published the *Nucleus* jointly with the Arnhem printer and bookseller Jan Janszoon the Elder, his co-publisher of illustrated books. Janszoon offered the book for sale at the Frankfurt Messe in the autumn of

deutschen Dramas und des niederdeutschen Dialektdichtung (Leipzig, 1881) 3-16. For Rollenhagen's matriculation at Leiden see *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae MDLXXV-MDCCCLXXV* (The Hague, 1875) 78.

⁵ For a detailed description of the life and works of Crispijn de Passe and his children (Crispijn II, Simon, Willem and Magdalena) see I.M. Veldman, *Crispijn de Passe and his Progeny (1564-1670). A Century of Print Production* (Rotterdam, 2001), and for his relationship with Gruterus in particular chapters 4 and 7.

1611.⁶ De Passe made a portrait of Rollenhagen (fig. 1) for the publication of the *Nucleus*, the only one known of the young poet. Rollenhagen's age is given as 27, so the print must have been executed between 22 March 1610 and 22 March 1611. The portrait has a laudatory verse by an anonymous poet.

A shade of youth, an image of illustrious features,
Is radiant, no matter how depicted by an artist's hand.
As such Nature fashioned his outer appearance; that to which
his inner mind
Is stimulating him belongs to his Talent; this shall live on
through his Intellect.⁷

A second verse is printed in letterpress and signed by the Magdeburg scholar Valentinus Cremcovius. It, too, echoes the figure of speech in widespread use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, namely that a portrait may reproduce someone's physical appearance but cannot record his spirit or talent.

Behold a well-formed face, a cheerful brow, two eyes like
Twin stars! Behold the seat of a lively intellect!
Even if Zeuxis painted every detail of the sharp-witted
Rollenhagen,
Can it be said that he could portray his talent?⁸

De Passe managed to complete and publish the *Nucleus* just before his departure from Cologne. On 30 July 1611, the year in which the book was published, the city council decreed that all Anabaptists had to leave Cologne within four days. De Passe had no choice but to move yet again. As early as the following year he was producing prints in Utrecht, where he was soon

⁶ See the *Catalogus universalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus de anno MDCXI* (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich).

⁷ Umbra iuventutis, formae florentis Imago,
Ut – nitet artificii reddita – cunq[ue] manu.
Exterius talem finxit Natura; quod intus
Mens agitat Genii est; vivet id Ingenio.

Cf. the motto of emblem 1 ('Vivitur ingenio [...]').

⁸ En teres os; hilaris frons, lumina bina gemelli
Sideris! En vegetis sinciput Ingenii!
Rollenhagidae, pingat si singula Zeuxis, acutae
Pingere num potis est, indolis effigiem?

granted his civic rights.

In his preface to the *Nucleus* De Passe expressed the hope that he would publish the remaining 400 emblems as well. In 1613, after he had settled in Utrecht, he and Jan Janszoon published indeed volume 2 of Rollenhagen's emblems, *Gabrielis Rollenhagii selectorum emblematum centuria secunda* (4to).⁹ This second century was undoubtedly composed in the same period as the first, its publication being delayed by circumstances. The 100 new emblems are very similar in form and content to the 1611 edition. It contains the same kind of familiar themes and illustrations, in a random order, and the same kind of pictorial and literary sources.

The *Nucleus* opens with an extensive Latin preface by De Passe. If he was able to compose this Latin himself (as well as the Latin prefaces in his other print books) he must have been a 'learned artist', which was rather exceptional for an engraver or print publisher. The preface is followed by Rollenhagen's dedication to Archbishop Christian Wilhelm of Magdeburg ('Domino meo clementissimo'), who was his employer (Rollenhagen being caretaker manager of the Magdeburg cathedral).¹⁰ The archbishop was probably a scholar himself, for the tenor of most of the emblems is philosophical, although, as we shall see, the artist and poet also dealt with religious matters. The dedication is followed by several Latin eulogies of both the painter and the poet (one of them by Janus Gruterus).

In their preface and dedication, De Passe and Rollenhagen present the genesis of their work. Rollenhagen relates, for instance:

From the infinite number of poetical pictures which the Greeks call emblems and the Italians impresas, I have selected the most vigorous, tasty, vivid and spiritual ones, I have arranged them into a few divisions of a hundred, I have added my own inventions, and I have provided them with very brief mottoes and I have carefully amplified them with at least a single distich, in a serene state of mind, in my spare time, walking and occasionally without much effort.¹¹

⁹ Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, 476-477; J. Landwehr, *Emblem and Fable Books, Printed in the Low Countries 1542-1813. A Bibliography* (Utrecht, 1988) no. 692. For the reproductions see Rollenhagen, *Sinn-Bilder*.

¹⁰ See Gaedertz, *Gabriel Rollenhagen*, 12.

¹¹ 'Ex infinito Picturarum poeticarum, quae Emblemata, Gracci Itali Imprese vocant, numero, ca quae nervis, succo, sanguine et anima sua non destitui deprehendi, in aliquot Centurias digessi, meis inventionibus locupletavi, et brevissimis symbolis ornavi, singulisque saltem distichis,

After thanking his friends Caselius, Gruterus and Taubmann for their faith in his abilities, Rollenhagen continues:

I have also found an excellent and skilful engraver, Crispijn de Passe, who has spontaneously shown me his own work and who has published his work, engraved on copper plates, in a way which is sufficiently suitable to my intent.¹²

Interestingly, an independent series of eleven prints by De Passe preceded the edition of the *Nucleus*. It was titled *Arcus Cupidinis id est, Nova emblemata amatoria quibus partim vis partim remedia Amoris representantur* (Cupid's bow, or new love emblems depicting in part the power of Love and in part the remedies for it).¹³ De Passe designed circular compositions, placing the Latin motto in the border and the Latin verses underneath, thereby converting his prints into the form of true emblems. The prints were later numbered and integrated into the *Nucleus* in random order. With one exception, each of the prints in the *Arcus* was provided with two Latin distichs;¹⁴ the other 89 emblems in the *Nucleus* have only one, pithy distich.

The question is whether the *Arcus Cupidinis* series was among the engravings which De Passe showed to Rollenhagen and which were so

animo sereno, horis subsecivis, ambulans et interdum stans pede in uno accurate explicui'. (Cf. 'Stans pede in uno' in Horace, *Satirae*, I, 4, 10). Also, given the description in the subtitle of the *Nucleus* ('quae itali vulgo impresas vocant'), it appears that no clear distinction was made at the time between emblems and impresas.

¹² 'Inveni etiam egregium et solertem chalcographum Crispinum Passaeum, qui mihi ultro suam operam detulit, et satis ad meam mentem apposite cupreis ca laminis incisa, foras dedit'.

¹³ F.W.H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700*, vol. XVI, compiled by J. Verbeek and I.M. Veldman (Amsterdam, 1974) no. 228 ad. It concerns emblem nos. 7, 14, 16, 27, 33, 35, 59, 64, 70, 71 and 81 in the *Nucleus* (a complete series is in the Albertina, Vienna). The function of the *Arcus* is explained to the reader in four hexameters on the title print: 'If you would like to know how powerful Cupid's bow is, and which medicine cures passion, open and read this booklet. However, do not only enjoy these things with your eyes, but fill your mind with the lessons you seek in it' ('Quid posset cupias si scire Cupidinis Arcus,/ Et quacnam venerem sanet medicina: libellum/ Hunc evolve. Oculos verum tamen haud modo pasce,/ Imbue sed mentem praeceptis inde petitis'). See for the *Arcus* also I.M. Veldman, 'Love Emblems by Crispijn de Passe the Elder: Rollenhagen's Emblemata, 'Cupid's Bow', 'Youthful Pleasures' and Other 'Charming Useful Prints' in: Manning (a.o., eds.), *The Emblem Tradition and the Low Countries. Selected Papers of the Leuven International Emblem Conference 18-23 August 1996* [Imago Figurata, vol. 1b] (Turnhout, 1999) 111-156 (esp. 112-125).

¹⁴ Emblem 16, 'Concussus surgo' has only two lines, engraved in the same style as the other texts and not in the calligraphic style of the rest of the *Nucleus*.

suitable for the latter's purpose. That would mean that it was De Passe who furnished the prototype for Rollenhagen's emblems, generating the formula which proved so successful. On the other hand, it is perfectly possible that the two men, after their first meeting, embarked on a kind of experiment, the *Arcus*, which soon resulted in the more comprehensive *Nucleus*. As indicated before, it seems that the concept of the *Arcus* was inspired by Heinsius's *Quaeris quid sit amor* (fig. 10). This book was a bestseller from the start, and from the third edition renamed *Emblemata amatoria*.¹⁵ The formal resemblance with De Passe's *Arcus Cupidinis* is striking (and so too is the similarity of titles of both works), as is the concentration on the subject of love, which was a novelty at the time. As said before, Rollenhagen became good friends with Heinsius and Grotius during his stay in Leiden. Both Rollenhagen and De Passe seem to have composed their *Nucleus* in emulation their famous forerunners, each in their own field.

The Epigrams

Most of the epigrams are in Latin; a few emblems (nos. 12, 43, 80 and 90) have mottoes and epigrams in Greek; nos. 30, 40, 95 in Italian, and no. 87 in French. Rollenhagen, being clearly a devotee, did not choose the easiest path. The epigrams in most other emblem books contain at least four lines, and often more, but he pursued the classical ideal of *brevitas*, limiting himself to one elegant couplet. His model was probably the recent edition of 400 emblems by Joachim Camerarius, *Symbolorum & emblematum centuriae [...]* (Nuremberg, 1590, 1595, 1596 and 1604) in four volumes dealing with plants, quadrupeds, birds and insects, aquatic animals and reptiles respectively.¹⁶ Camerarius, too, used only one distich, but Rollenhagen wanted to outdo his colleague. Not only did he strive for a total of 500 emblems, but he was also, as far as we know, the only poet who often skilfully managed to incorporate the whole motto in the epigram.

Warncke does not feel that the Latin verses of the eleven prints of the *Arcus* are up to Rollenhagen's standard, and believes that De Passe himself

¹⁵ See R. Breugelmans, 'Quaeris quid sit amor? Ascription, date of publication and printer of the earliest emblem book to be written and published in Dutch', *Quaerendo* 3 (1979) 281-290, and H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Willem Jansz en de Nederlandse emblematic', *Uit de wereld van het boek*, vol. 3: *In en om de 'Vergulde Sonneweyser'* (Amsterdam, 1979) 97-128 (esp. 98-102). See Praz, *Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, 88-98, for an interpretation of the emblems and their sources.

¹⁶ See Jan Papy's contribution on Camerarius' emblems on pages 197-231

was their author.¹⁷ The four-line verses of the *Arcus* series are indeed somewhat different from Rollenhagen's, for they contain an explanation or advice in the second couplet, and thus lack his brevity. Nonetheless, they do have sufficient intrinsic merits. And besides, it seems improbable that, being a craftsman, De Passe was also an accomplished Latin poet. A number of the Latin poems on his prints were signed by professional or semi-professional Cologne poets, Matthias Quad, Carel Utenhoven and Wilhelm Salsmann among them. De Passe might have called upon one of them to assist him with the *Arcus*. But perhaps a better hypothesis is that Rollenhagen made the verses for the eleven prints of the *Arcus* as a kind of try-out, and improved on himself in the remaining 89, for in the *Arcus*, too, the motto is incorporated in the epigram.

According to Warneke, Rollenhagen often used quotations from famous predecessors from antiquity. However, in spite of the fact that this was often the case in Neo-Latin poetry, remarkably few references could be detected. A few mottoes are well-known sayings, and their sources are easily found. The motto of emblem 77, for instance, 'Deus nobis haec otia fecit', is based on Virgil's *Eclogae* I, line 6 ('O Meliboece, deus nobis haec otia fecit'), but transferred to a quite different context. A variation is emblem 53, 'Musica serva dei, nobis haec otia fecit' ('Music is the maid-servant of God, to us she gives peace'). The motto of emblem 39 'speque metuque pavet' ('[The loving heart] trembles with hope and fear') is derived from Ovid's *Fasti* III, 362 (or Virgil's *Aeneid* I, 218). The motto of emblem 74, 'Omnia mea mecum porto', I carry everything with me), with the turtle as the symbol of domesticity, is found in Cicero's *Paradoxa* I, 1, 8, and that of emblem 88, 'Suum cuique tribue', ('Give everybody his share') in Cicero's *De finibus* 5, 65.¹⁸

The epigrams of the second century contain remarkably few classical quotations. Exceptions are the famous sayings 'nulla dies sine linea' of emblem 24 (cf. Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 35, 10, 84), the sentence 'varium et mutabile semper femina' in emblem 73 (cf. Virgil's *Aeneid* IV, 569-70), and the epigram of emblem 47, 'Paulum sepultae distat inertiae celata virtus', which is derived from Horace's *Odes* IV, 9, 29 (as the engraver himself added).

The title *Nucleus*, incidentally, is a kind of enigma in itself. The word was perhaps inspired by the proverb in Plautus's *Curculio* 1, 1, 55: 'E nuce

¹⁷ Rollenhagen, *Sinn-Bilder*, 426.

¹⁸ Compare also 'sperne voluptatem [voluptates]' in emblem 14 with Horace's *Epistolae* 1, 2, 55, 'Persequar extinctum' (emblem 33) with Ovid's *Metamorphoses* IV, 151, and 'oblectant animos' (emblem 70) with Ovid's *Remedia amoris* 169.

nucleum qui esse vult, frangit nucem', 'He who would eat the kernel must crack the nut'. In other words, anyone seeking something beneficial should not shy away from the labour of earning it. This, in our opinion, is very true of the reading of Rollenhagen's distichs.

The Visual Imagery and its Relation to the Verses

In contrast to the extremely concise epigrams, the imagery is much more detailed and informative, without referred to by name in the verse, and sometimes being a rather down-to-earth interpretation of a highly philosophical concept. Purely symbolical and allegorical depictions alternate with small, genre-like scenes, all designed and engraved with the utmost care. In spite of the fact that Rollenhagen's concise verses give little concrete indications for a visual representation, most *picturae* are rather elaborate and detailed. They are seemingly realistic compositions and the genre-like scenes have often become small and independent works of art in their own right. Also, when De Passe depicted abstract symbols he set them in the natural surroundings of a landscape, which give the illustrations their own charm. The main theme occupies the foreground and has space for a view into the distance with smaller background figures or landscape vistas. The delicately engraved little scenes in this background add useful information and clarify the meaning of the main representation and the texts. One could suppose that De Passe designed the illustrations in close collaboration with the poet, whom he calls 'his singular friend' ('amico nostro singulari') in his preface. But probably the in his own profession more experienced artist was fully trusted to use his own imagination in the visualisation of the verses and mottoes.

The pictorial imagery is extremely varied, and many motifs belong to the fashionable repertoire of the visual arts. We meet mythological figures (Jupiter, Diana, Mercury, Athena, Arion, Hercules, Sisyphus, Ixion, the centaur Chiron, the horse Pegasus) and personifications of abstract concepts (Occasio, Fortuna, Fides). Animals were a popular element in emblems, and their choice was often based on the medieval *bestiaria*. De Passe gave a prominent role to animals and depicted them with loving attention, as he did with plants and flowers, which contributes greatly to the attractiveness and originality of the emblems. The animals are often depicted in their natural surroundings and give the impression of being carefully observed creatures: the snail, butterfly, lobster, eagle, serpent, bees, squirrel, raven, ostrich, boar and crocodile. Sometimes De Passe elected to depict an animal even if none was mentioned in Rollenhagen's epigram. Emblem 26, for instance,

('Durabo', I shall endure) is illustrated by a squirrel sitting patiently in the pouring rain.

We meet a whole range of traditional symbols, objects and figures which are known from both emblem books and the visual arts: skeletons, skulls, hour-glasses, fire and flames, hearts, ears of corn, arrows, anchors, scales, trees, plants, the sun, rain, swords, crowns, spades and cornucopiae. De Passe was an experienced and creative designer, who needed only a few stimuli in order to exploit his vast knowledge of the pictorial tradition. For instance, the concept of emblem 78 ('Ex bello pax', War brings peace) is derived from Alciato; De Passe, however, did not copy the rather crude woodcut in the latter's *Emblemata* but instead the much nicer engraving of emblem 5 in Johann Theodor de Bry's *Emblemata nobilitati* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1592).¹⁹ The figure of the Greek poet Arion of emblem 10, saved by a dolphin which was fascinated by his music, resembles De Passe's own depiction of Arion in his 1602 series of four classical proto-musicians.²⁰ The nude male figure of emblem 12, which is rising up from the earth and the symbols of worldly power, striving for God, recalls the mythological figures in the famous print series by Hendrick Goltzius after Cornelis Corneliszoon van Haarlem (1588), although those are sinners falling from the sky and certainly not rising up.²¹

Identical imagery can also express different meanings, according to the practice of visual symbolism and pictorial attributes. Burning woodblocks on an altar symbolize dutiful sacrifices in emblem 15, but the two burning in emblem 34 represent true love. The small sailing boat in emblem 13 symbolizes a safe arrival thanks to the rudder and a favourable wind, but in emblem 37 this simple boat is the seat of a king, and gives expression to the idea that, thanks to God, a king governs well as long he steers the ship well. Most of De Passe's imagery was widely known at the time, and is often repeated, such as the putto with a skull or the hour-glass as the symbols of transience (emblems 21, 45 and 49), and the scales of justice (emblems 83 and 88). A burning heart (love) appears in

¹⁹ Warncke in Rollenhagen, *Sinn-Bilder*, 166, gives an incorrect translation of the epigram. For Alciato see A. Henkel and A. Schöne, *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1967) col. 1489. The motto 'Ex bello pax' was probably inspired by Nepos's *Epaminondas* 5, 4.

²⁰ F.W.H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700*, vol. XV, compiled by J. Verbeek, (Amsterdam, [n.d.]) no. 533; Veldman, *Crispijn de Passe and his Progeny*, fig. 73.

²¹ G. Luijten (a.o., eds.), *Dawn of the Golden Age. Northern Netherlandish Art 1580-1620*, exhibition catalogue Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (Amsterdam-Zwolle, 1993) 332, catalogue nos. 3.1-4.

the *picturae* of emblems 9, 65, 72, 79 and 87. Clasped hands (friendship) figure in emblems 87, 39, 65, 72 and 79.

Perhaps what distinguishes the *Nucleus* from other emblem books is that the image is a necessary instrument to embrace the tenor of the concise epigrams. It is often the scenes in the background which give the information required and assist the viewer in developing his thoughts and associations in order to adapt the abstract lessons to more concrete situations. The emblems must have been destined for a public of well-educated viewers and readers who had sufficient knowledge of themes and symbols in the visual arts and did not mind playing an active part in digesting them (or even enjoyed doing so).²² Emblem 69, 'Constante fiducia' ('With persistent trust'), for instance, shows the personification of Faith as a crowned woman holding the traditional attributes of a cross and a chalice. The 'chief corner stone' (namely Christ, cf. Ephesians 2:20) serves her as a pedestal. The epigram tells us that Persistent Trust overcomes all evil, trusting in God as Judge, and that she is cheerful under the Cross with Christ as her Guide. The little scenes in the landscape at the background deepen the religious meaning of the emblem. They represent the essence of the Christian faith, the Passion and Salvation (the three crosses on Golgotha). In the foreground is the journey to Emmaus, when Christ appeared to two of his disciples after his Resurrection and rebuked them for their slowness in apprehending the miracle.

Sometimes De Passe took the liberty of making a visual joke. Emblem 20, 'Transeat' (It will pass), is an elaboration of the well-known saying of the Stoics 'Perfer et obdura' ('Endure and persevere'), which they derived from Ovid's *Amores* III, 11, 7, his *Tristia* V, 11, 7, or from Catullus 8, 11. The epigram likens a brief thunderstorm to evils and tribulations which will be overcome (for the sun will shine again). The half-naked young boy in the illustration tries to protect himself against the pouring rain with a huge sieve (fig. 2). This is not only a funny and seemingly foolish act, but De Passe (and many of his readers) knew that the sieve is also the attribute of Prudence, and is depicted as such by Pieter Bruegel in his *Prudence* in a series of Seven Virtues (1559-1560).

²² See also W. Harms, 'Der Fragmentcharakter emblematischer Auslegungen und die Rolle des Lesers. Gabriel Rollenhagens Epigramme' in: M. Haas (ed.), *Deutsche Barocklyrik* (Bern-Munich, 1973) 49-64 (esp. 52, 54, 57 and 60-62).

Outline of the Basic Themes

Ten of the eleven emblems of the *Arcus*, the *Nucleus*'s predecessor, are devoted to the theme of love, in contrast to the others in the *Nucleus*, which treat a far wider range of subjects.²³ The emphasis on love, both in terms of content and design, is undoubtedly due to the source of inspiration for the *Arcus*: the *Emblemata amatoria* (1601) by Heinsius and Dolendo after De Gheyn II.

This theme, love as a powerful but versatile human force, is treated in varied ways. We find rather down-to-earth ideas and images, based upon everyday, specific situations, combined with more learned forms of expression. Emblem 7 in the *Nucleus*, 'Non sceptro sed plectro ducitur' ('She is lured not by the sceptre but by the plectrum'), deals with the inconstancy of a woman's love (fig. 3). The verses conclude with the statement that only that love which is engendered by virtue can be stable. Emblem 81, 'Pueros castigo virosq[ue]' (I chastise lads as well as men), explains that a rod in the hand of a young lady is used to punish her young husband, just as it is otherwise employed to flog schoolboys. The moral is that when one wishes to tame a young man, the best solution is to find him a wife. In emblem 71, 'Non te sed nummos' ('Not you but your money'), De Passe presents the well-known theme of a man who pretends to love his fiancée while he is really only after her money. In a so-called 'pure marriage', however, the spouses are united in one common purpose, love of their offspring, and they should never be swayed by selfish motives. This is symbolized by emblem 35, 'Posteritati' ('For posterity'), where the paterfamilias is planting a tree for the benefit of his children and grandchildren (fig. 4). The well-known emblem 70, 'Amor docet musicam' ('Love is the teacher of music'), depicting a Cupid with a lute, provides a more general statement about the force of love. But emblem 33, 'Persequar exstinctu[m]' ('I follow you into death') represents the tragic end of a love affair, the dying lovers Pyramus and Thisbe.²⁴

The other 89 emblems in the *Nucleus* deal with the kind of humanist themes which were fashionable in those days, with virtue taking pride of place in the exhortations to wisdom, obedience, diligence, self-renunciation, piety and so on. Several of these themes return regularly throughout the book in a more or less varied form, and are presented to the reader in a seemingly

²³ Emblem 14 is the only one in the *Arcus* which is not devoted to the theme of love ('Quo me vertam nescio' or Hercules at the crossroads).

²⁴ For a more detailed analysis of the *Arcus* prints see Veldman, 'Love Emblems by Crispijn de Passe the Elder', and figures 4-5, 10.

random order. This, according to Warneke, in contrast to later editions of Alciato's *Emblemata* which are arranged in groups of more or less coherent or connected themes. Warneke suggested that Rollenhagen's model was Philostratus's *Imagines*, an apparently unsystematic collection of descriptions of paintings grouped thematically in the house of their owner. This newly created 'disorder' supposedly represents the rhetorical genre of 'brilliant accomplishments'.²⁵ It might be simpler, though, to regard the trope of 'variety' as being the point of departure.

The first emblem, 'Vivitur ingenio caetera mortis eru[n]t' ('One lives on through one's intellect; the rest will belong to Death'), seems to epitomize the philosophy of both the author and the artist (fig. 5). It depicts a scholar studying a celestial sphere, turning his back on Death, who is occupying himself with transitory things (the symbols of worldly power and riches). The first line of Rollenhagen's distich is an exhortation, while the second contains the motto, ascribed to Virgil: 'Acquire knowledge of the arts and sciences, and despise transitory power and wealth/ One lives on through one's intellect; the rest will belong to Death'.²⁶

Other emblems are also highly original, and seem to mirror the personal convictions of their makers. This originality, which is expressed not only in the mottoes and epigrams but also in the visual imagery, becomes especially striking when the artist and poet deal with religious matters. Emblem 63, 'Coniunctis votis' ('Through united prayers'), depicts two hands appearing from the sky which are united around the Cross by a rope, a symbol of the strength of the Christian community (fig. 6). The radiant tetragrammaton makes it clear that this is not an exhortation to a Catholic community but the kind of Protestant one to which both Rollenhagen and De Passe belonged. Although there was a world of difference between the Lutheran and the Mennonite creeds, their common background of a reformist theology is revealed by this tetragrammaton, which often figures prominently in De Passe's *picturae*.

De Passe's Protestant background did not deter him from using traditional Catholic symbols where necessary. For emblem 61, 'In silentio et spe' ('In quietness and in confidence') – a motto inspired by Isaiah 30:15, he chose the depiction of a solitary monk in the woods, praying and staring up at the sky, expecting the 'prize which is given to the pious'. The monk has an

²⁵ Rollenhagen, *Sinn-Bilder*, 424-425. Earlier, Harms was not convinced of the usefulness of looking for an order or system in the first 200 emblems when the next 300 are lacking; see Harms, 'Der Fragmentcharakter emblematischer Auslegungen', 49.

²⁶ 'Disce bonas artes, et opes contemne caducas./ Vivitur ingenio; caetera mortis erunt'. The second line is derived from the *Appendix Vergiliana*, *Elegia in Maecenatem*, 38.

anchor as the traditional attribute of Hope, and also the less common one of a huge, leather-bound Bible. Another religious emblem is 77, 'Deus nobis haec otia fecit' ('God has given us this peace'). De Passe designed a Gothic church interior crowded with people who are listening to a sermon given by a Protestant minister in a pulpit. In this case we have no need of a tetragrammaton to identify the denomination. One thing that was common to all faiths at the time, by the way, is reflected in Rollenhagen's reproach of the Jews in the epigram, namely that they were not willing to accept this 'peace of mind' when it was offered to them.

Another personal conviction shared by Rollenhagen and De Passe was their belief in the power of knowledge, which was already apparent in emblem 1. Emblem 67, 'Studio et vigilantia' ('Through industry and vigilance'), tells us that only he who studies his books with vigilant industry deserves the name of scholar. De Passe designed an enormous open book, on which an owl is standing as the symbol of both wisdom and watchfulness. In the background are the tiny scenes of a teacher and young pupils at school, and scholars studying late into the night by the light of a candle. That the pursuit of knowledge never ends, and continues into old age, is clarified in the rather moving emblem 75, 'Tamen discam' ('I shall go on learning nevertheless'). An elderly scholar, literally standing with one foot in the grave, tries to continue reading his book by the weak beams of the moon, while the sun sinks – in his case for good (fig. 7).

Emblem 53 ('Musica serva dei', Music is the maidservant of God) sings the praises of music. The illustration shows a kneeling King David playing the harp. The supposed composer of the Psalms is thus acting as a biblical proto-musician. The epigram explains that people get peace of mind while listening to music, and that music is so powerful that it moves not only people but even God as well. Such emblems have, to the best of our knowledge, no parallels in earlier emblem books.

Although the second century of emblems (1613) was undoubtedly composed in the same period as the first, it contains fewer observations about human love and more concerning religion, piety and faith. Only four emblems are a kind of follow-up to the *Arcus*. Emblem 69, 'Ferio' ('I strike'), depicts Cupid shooting an arrow, and emblem 73, 'Varium et mutabile semper faemina' ('A woman is ever a varying and changeable thing'), deals again with the inconstancy of female affections and recalls emblem 7 in the *Nucleus* (fig. 3). The remaining two love emblems are devoted to the ideal union of man and wife, emblem 28, 'Manus manum lavat' ('One good turn deserves another'), the motto being derived from Seneca's *De morte Claudii* 9, 9, and

to 'mutual affection', emblem 44, 'Amore mutuo'. The *pictura* of this last emblem, a man and wife with Cupid pouring water over their clasped hands, is based on an engraving by Johannes Sadeler II, which has the same motto.²⁷ Particularly touching is emblem 64, a turtle and a simple house in the background where a family is seated around the table. It has a Greek motto and epigram, saying that one's own home is the best home, and that one should be satisfied with the present state of affairs. A similar turtle figured in emblem 74 of the *Nucleus*, which not only expresses the joy of a simple home and few possessions, but also the maxim that those who are self-satisfied are most fortunate.

The Combination of Painting and Poetry: Contemporary Views

Although it is very well known that the essence of an emblem book consists of the combination of text and image, the objectives of both the poet and the artist are rarely so well and so explicitly set out as they are in the *Nucleus*. De Passe begins his foreword with a well-known quotation from Horace's *Ars poetica* (line 343): 'Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci' ('He who blends profit and pleasure wins every vote'). According to the engraver this is 'a commonplace based in truth'.²⁸ Horace's statement about the purpose of art was indeed widely accepted by most Renaissance and Baroque critics of both poetry and painting until the end of the eighteenth century. It was especially referred to in collections of emblems and related books of prints.²⁹

To this quotation De Passe appends a discussion on the comparison between poetry and painting. He finds the study of literature, which he considers an intellectual pursuit as well as a means of improving morals, useful, pleasant and moreover honourable. Although some people think that poetry has little or no usefulness in daily life, it is not only a scholarly pursuit but also able to regulate life itself. For 'just as wise men are affected by a handsome painting, not so much by the appearance itself but rather because they are reminded of the subject or the history depicted, so is the function of poetry: an honourable person is not so much stirred by the flow of its metre,

²⁷ I. de Ramaix, *Les Sadeler. Graveurs et éditeurs* (Brussels, 1992) 40, no. 40 (based on a design by Federigo Sustris).

²⁸ 'Non minus verum quam tritum est illud Horatii: 'Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci'. De Passe regularly quoted this line of Horace in his print books; see I.M. Veldman, *Profit and Pleasure. Print Books by Crispijn de Passe* (Rotterdam, 2001) chapter 8.

²⁹ See Praz, *Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, 169, and I. Höpel, *Emblem und Sinnbild. Vom Kunstbuch zum Erbauungsbuch* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1987) 154-165.

but rather by the excellence of the things described'.³⁰

De Passe continues by stating that emblems are one of the most successful poetic genres 'because they not only contain verse but also are given distinction and culture by the art of painting'. For 'emblems are pleasing to both the ears and the eyes'. In his brief survey of the genre the engraver praises the booklet of Andrea Alciato, who was one of the initiators of this illustrious tradition, which was continued by Sambucus and Hadrianus Junius, among others. 'But,' he declares without any false modesty, 'the emblem book we are now working on [the *Nucleus*] is not comparable to these famous predecessors. For instead of woodcuts, it has been provided with copper engravings, which furthermore contain charming details'.³¹ Although de Passe was not the first to employ the technique of copper engraving in the making of emblems, his engravings are indeed remarkably accomplished compared to the majority of the illustrations in emblem books, which consists of small and rather simple or crude woodcuts, designed and cut by anonymous craftsmen.

No wonder that both the writer and the artist were satisfied with each other's accomplishments. Rollenhagen states in his dedication that his emblems are 'engraved on copper plates in a way which is sufficiently suitable to my intent'; De Passe, in his turn, is able to appreciate

³⁰ 'Ad litterarum quide[m] studia quod attinet, ut lubenter quicquid ad animum tam scientia imbuendu[m] quam bonis moribus excole[n]dum facit, in rerum Honestarum numero habendum esse fatemur; ita illud, credo, nemo negabit, esse quacdam quae ad Voluptatem magis quam ad vit[a]e tam communis qua[m] privatae Utilitatem accomodata sint. Ex hoc genere sunt qui Poeticam quoque artem esse censent. [...] Equidem sic semper existimavi, ea Poemata quae non tantum syllabarum certis legibus astrictarum venustam concinnitatem prae se ferrent, sed etiam penitiorum quandam eruditionem, Vitae formandae aptam, spirarent, magni faciendae esse. At quemadmodum in picturis cordati viri, non tam ipso pulchrae tabulae aspectu, quam rei ipsius sive historiae quae ibi depicta est, memoria afficiuntur; ita honestus animus non tam metri volubilitate, quam rerum eo adumbratarum pulchritudine capitur'.

³¹ 'Inter omnia vero Poematum genera non infimum sibi locum vindicant eae inventiones sive animi lusus, qui Emblemata vulgo dicuntur: quibus illa praeterea gratia accedit, quod praeter litteratam illam Poesin, ab altera quoque veluti Dea Pictura scilicet, non parum ornamentum et cultus accipiant. Ita sit ut et versibus audiendis aures, et praesertim artificiose sculpta inspicienda imagine, oculi, utrisque vero animus mirifice recreetur atque oblectetur. [...] Superiori quidem tempore inter primos Andreas Alciatus, magni nominis Iuris consultus, parvo quidem sed docto edito Emblematum libello, magnam laudem consequutus est: quem Sambucus, Hadrianus Junius et alii sequuti sunt, quamquam dispari passu. Et his quidem omnibus, et si qui alii in hoc choro pedem posuerunt, suam laudem lubenter relinquimus, illud tamen sine iactatione dicere posse videmur, hoc in genere ei quod iam elaboramus par opus hactenus non prodisse. Figuras enim non in lignum, ut illi, sed in aes incisas damus, nec nudas, sed parergis no[n] invenustis exornatas. Versus pauci sunt; sed apti, perspicui, rotundi'.

Rollenhagen's short epigrams ('there are few verses, but they are convenient, clear and elegant').³²

Moreover, and most fittingly for a collection of emblems, the frontispiece of the *Nucleus* illustrates the qualities and aims of both painting and poetry (fig. 8). The images and inscriptions, which are to be read clockwise from bottom left, set out the following artistic credo. Art as the imitator of nature (the woman painting her self-portrait) with the aid of Minerva (the intellect), while the inspiration of Nature entices (the child reading) with God's grace (the rape of Ganymede by Jupiter) and supported by the talents (Mercury), while the Graces are kindly disposed (the three Graces as the patrons of the arts), such an art transcends heaven (the swan with a laurel branch in its beak representing the striving for immortality).³³

The eulogies in the *Nucleus* are a third element in which the combination of text and image is praised. The first laudatory poem is by Rollenhagen's friend Janus Gruterus of Antwerp, who lived in Heidelberg since 1602. Remarkably, Gruterus was also a friend of De Passe, who had drawn and engraved his portrait three years earlier, in 1608. De Passe dedicated his *Compendium operum Virgilianorum* of 1612 to Gruterus in a verse which bears witness to their close friendship. De Passe is called 'assuredly not the least of Gruterus's friends', and 'also no recent guest-friend'.³⁴ It seems perfectly within reason, then, to assume that it was Gruterus who brought Rollenhagen and De Passe together. Gruterus's poem is a panegyric on the combination of poetry and painting, and both men receive high praise.

Nothing in the world is more delightful than such a union [...] /
Who will prove the better here? Just as Rollenhagen pleases the

³² '[...] et satis ad meam mentem apposite cupreis ea laminis incisa' and 'versus pauci sunt, sed apti, perspicui et rotundi'.

³³ 'Ars imitatrix naturae/ Minerva non repugnantē/ Naturae genio alliciente/ Deo propitio/ Ingenio adiuvante/ Gratiis ardentibus/ Super aethera tendit'. Cf. the swan as the symbol of the poet with Alciato's *Liber emblematicus* (Lyon, 1547) emblem 107, and Ganymede carried off by the eagle with Alciato's emblem 32, and with emblem 22 in Rollenhagen's and De Passe's *Centuria secunda* (1613).

³⁴ Veldman, *Crispijn de Passe and his Progeny*, fig. 50. For the dedication of De Passe's *Compendium operum Virgilianorum* to Gruterus see Veldman, *Profit and Pleasure*, chapter 6. Around the same time Rollenhagen and Gruterus had still contacts. Part 2 (pp. 884-902) of the *Delitiae poetarum germanorum* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1612), published by Gruterus, contains a florilegium of verses by Rollenhagen, including a poem lauding Gruterus, Taubman en Heinsius (p. 901).

ears / So De Passe pleases the eyes, both through their art.³⁵

A second poem (entitled 'On the emblems of the very learned Gabriel Rollenhagen, engraved in copper by the most skilful Crispijn de Passe') also lauds the successful combination of word and image, with the remark that we 'owe this new and beautifully decorated little book to the eloquent Rollenhagen, who selected the emblems in an intelligent and scholarly fashion'. The poet continues:

But to my mind, much of the well-deserved praise
Should also fall to our De Passe, who was prepared to engrave
These prints with his skilful fingers. Can there be anything more
beautiful
Than this work, from which breathes artistic skill and the power
of the intellect in equal measure?³⁶

De Passe would certainly have been very sorry to learn that Rollenhagen has often been regarded as the sole creator of the *Nucleus*.

Intertextuality

De Passe and Rollenhagen naturally found immense inspiration in the work of their predecessors. Part of the fun, indeed, was to embroider on others, and to extend, transform or improve the symbolism and purport of earlier emblems. This is exactly what De Passe tells us in his preface ('Rollenhagen, who

³⁵ 'coniugio tali dulcius orbe nihil [...] Quis feret hic primas? ut Rollenhagius aures:/ Lumina Passaeus sic beat arte sua'.

³⁶ 'In emblemata doctissimi viri Gabrielis Rollenhagii a solertissimo Crispino Passaeo in aes incisa':

Quis novus iste liber, Tam miranda arte politus?
Cui tantum debemus opus? Tibi nempe diserte
Roll[c]nhagide, doctac qui mentis acumine, multo
Cum sudore, unum conguessisti haec in acervum.
Sed quoque pars laudis nostro, me iudice, magna
Passaeo tribuenda venit, qui sculperet doctis
Haec voluit digitis. Opere ergo hoc pulcrius esse
An quidquam possit simul Ars et Mens ubi spirant.

Cf. also the motto of emblem 1.

collected his 500 Emblems from other collections, but who gave us many from his own talent as well').³⁷

The ideas for half of the emblems in the *Nucleus* are based more or less on earlier sources. Warncke has already given several indications of this. Those sources consist of well-known collections of emblems or *imprese* like Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum liber* (Augsburg, 1531), Gilles Corrozet, *Hecatomgraphie* (Paris, 1540), Claude Paradin, *Devises heroïques* (Lyon, 1551), Barthélemy Aneau, *Picta poesis* (Lyon, 1552), Gabriele Simeoni, *Imprese heroïche et morali* (Lyon, 1559), Joannes Sambucus, *Emblemata* (Antwerp, 1564), Hadrianus Junius, *Emblemata* (Antwerp, 1565), Joachim Camerarius, *Symbolorum et emblematum centuriae* (Nuremberg, 1590), Scipione Bargagli, *Imprese* (Venice, 1594) and Jacob Typot, *Symbola divina et humana* (Prague, 1601-1603).

In other words, Rollenhagen and De Passe knew and consulted the whole range of the emblem literature, even very recent publications like Sebastian de Covarrubias Orozco, *Emblemas morales* (Madrid, 1610), which was the source of inspiration for emblem 29, 'Non uno sternitur ictu' ('He is not felled by a single blow'), with the laborious chopping down of a tree symbolizing the power of resistance.³⁸

The greatest source of inspiration was Paradin's collection of *imprese*, the *Devises heroïques*, with at least fourteen emblems being based on his devices. Several editions were published in Antwerp from 1551 on, including a Dutch translation of 1562-1563.³⁹ Simeoni's *Imprese*, a less popular collection, inspired only five.⁴⁰ Since De Passe praised the three 'classics' Alciato, Sambucus and Junius in his preface, it is not surprising to discover that eight emblems are rather similar to pictorial motifs in Alciato, although, as usual, content and meaning have been adapted slightly.⁴¹ Emblem 51 is similar to one in Sambucus; four others to Junius's *Emblemata*.⁴²

A few examples will suffice. The text and pictorial motif of emblem 59, originally from the *Arcus*, 'Pro gallinis' ('On account of the hens'), is derived from Aneau's *Picta poesis* (1552).⁴³ The two first lines of the epigram, with

³⁷ 'Hoc vero universum opus, benevole Lector, doctissimo viro D. Gabrieli Rollenhagio, amico nostro singulari, debes: qui quinque Emblematum Centurias quum ex aliis collegit, tum etiam non paucas ex suo ingenio nobis dedit'.

³⁸ For Covarrubias's emblem see Henkel and Schöne, *Emblemata*, cols. 222-223.

³⁹ Emblems 15, 21, 30, 31, 36, 38, 42, 44, 47, 50, 52, 54, 95 and 99 in the *Nucleus*.

⁴⁰ Emblems 18, 32, 40, 48 and 62 in the *Nucleus*.

⁴¹ Emblems 4, 10, 28, 60, 72, 76, 78 and 92 in the *Nucleus*. For editions of Paradin see Praz, *Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, 444-445.

⁴² Emblems 5, 80, 82 and 84 in the *Nucleus*.

⁴³ Rollenhagen, *Sinn-Bilder*, 128. For Aneau's emblem see Henkel and Schöne, *Emblemata*, 846.

the exception of two words, were taken directly from Aneau's verse. Both poems state that, on account of the hens, lecherous cocks begin a bloody fight to win love, not booty. But young Rollenhagen also extends the comparison to human beings, and continues harshly: 'In the same way, lusty youth fights for the girls, and is often felled by a cruel wound'.⁴⁴

Another emblem from the *Arcus*, emblem 64 of the *Nucleus* (fig. 9), is rather similar to emblem 8 of the *Quaeris quid sit amor* by De Gheyn and Heinsius (fig. 10). Both depict a scene of flies being burned in the flame of a candle, which is explained by a line from a *canzone* by Petrarch, 'Così de ben amar porto tormento' ('Thus I bear the pain of loving well'). In his epigram, Hugo Grotius concludes rather cynically that hope is the greatest cause of misery. In the *Nucleus* the poet attaches a different but also serious warning to the image: 'I would gladly die at any hour. As the fly follows the flame and throws itself into the fire, so does the cheerful youth perish through the weapons of Venus'.⁴⁵ Not only Heinsius, but also emblem 49 ('Amoris ingenui tormentum') in Hadrianus Junius's *Emblemata* was known to De Passe (and probably to De Gheyn as well).⁴⁶ De Passe copied Junius's table and tablecloth in his version, but not the tall pedestal in De Gheyn's print.

When Rollenhagen elaborated on an idea of one of his predecessors it was always in a highly original way, and never a servile imitation. The same applies to De Passe's imagery. Also, when the artist had earlier models or well-known prototypes at his disposal, he always succeeded in creating a new, harmonious and convincing composition. *Aemulatio*, the desire to equal or excel others, was an end in itself. In almost every case when De Passe borrowed motifs or compositions from others, his attractive scenes transcend his models and relegate them to oblivion.

The Later History of the Emblems

The publication of the *Centuria secunda* brought an end to the collaboration between De Passe and Rollenhagen, who died in 1619, at the age of thirty-six.

⁴⁴ 'Sic pro verginibus certat lasciva iuventa/ Atq[ue] etiam saevo vulnere saepe cadit'. The woodcut illustrating Aneau's *Picta poesis*, is rather small and crude, however, and was obviously not the pictorial source for De Passe's emblem. De Passe took his inspiration from an etching by Marcus Gheeraerts in Eduard de Dene, *De warachtighe Fabulen der dieren* (1567 and 1578); see Veldman, 'Love Emblems by Crispijn de Passe the Elder', 122-123 and figs. 10-12.

⁴⁵ The image of the fly and the burning candle recurs in emblem 40 in the *Nucleus* ('Così vivo piacer conduce a morte'). For this image, see further Praz, *Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, 93, and Henkel and Schöne, *Emblemata*, col. 910.

⁴⁶ See also Chris Heesakkers' study of Junius' emblems, in particular p. 66.

We do not know the fate of the remaining 300 emblems, if indeed they were ever invented. Perhaps Rollenhagen had made his selection and left the task of designing and engraving the *picturae* to De Passe, who was distracted by other projects. Perhaps the whole enterprise had been of too little economic benefit to De Passe, who soon started to concentrate on more ambitious illustrated books in the field of history and politics.

The emblems were also translated into French, with the French version of the first 100 being published simultaneously in 1611 in Cologne by Servatius Erffens in collaboration with Jan Janszoon. The second *centuria* followed in 1613.⁴⁷ The translator, T.D.L.S.D.O. ('un professeur de la langue Françoise à Cologne'), was probably a friend who had access to the authors and their work when it was still unpublished.

Jan Janszoon published a Dutch translation by Zacharias Heyns 1615-17 which contained all 200 emblems: *Volsinnighe uytbeelsels by Gabrielem Rollenhagius uyt andere versamelt, en vermeerderd met syn eygene sinrijcke vindingen, gestelt in Nederduytsche Rijme door Zacharias Heyns* (Images of deep import collected from others by Gabriel Rollenhagen and augmented with his own inventions pregnant with meaning, done into Lower German rhyme by Zacharias Heyns).⁴⁸ The publisher used De Passe's copperplate for the frontispiece but removed the word *Coloniae*, along with De Passe's signature, and inserted a letterpress title-page.⁴⁹

Seventeen years later the copperplates were sold to an English buyer. The 200 prints were then published in the three-volume *A collection of emblemes* by George Wither, which was printed in London in 1634 and 1635 by Augustine Mathewes for Henry Taunton. De Passe's prints appear in their original order, but Rollenhagen's epigrams were cut from the plate and

⁴⁷ Also this book could be bought from Jan Janszoon in Arnhem, as is stated on the title-page. The translator was, however, rather free with the Latin epigrams, and extended the pithy lessons to four lines of verses or more. Cf. also Harms, 'Der Fragmentcharakter emblematischer Auslegungen', 55.

⁴⁸ Copy in the University Library, Amsterdam (O 69-56). The book is dedicated to the merchant Marten Hureau of Venice. It lacks the original forewords and eulogics, but does contain Rollenhagen's portrait from the *Nucleus*.

⁴⁹ The omission of De Passe's name probably meant that he had sold his copperplates for the 200 *Emblemata* to Jan Janszoon, thus ruling out further publications. The plates are not mentioned in De Passe's inventories of 1639 and 1653. It must have been because of the sale that De Passe did not use the Dutch translations of the emblems by the Amsterdam poet Theodore Rodenburgh, who also supplied the poems for his *Fons amoris* (1618). Rodenburgh's translations were included in his *Eglentiers poëtens borst-weringh* (1619) as 'stichtige zinnebeelden' (edifying emblems); see S.F. Witstein, *Bronnen en bewerkingswijze van de ontleende gedeelten in Rodenburghs Eglentiers Poëtens Borst-weringh* (1619). *Het proza-betoog en de emblemata* (Amsterdam, 1964).

replaced with Wither's long-winded and rather moralistic English poems. Wither tells something about the book's prior history in his foreword, from which we learn that he admired the craftsmanship of De Passe's engravings but disliked Rollenhagen's inventions and learned verses, and that the owner of the copperplates was not prepared to part with them unless he got a good price (it was perhaps the death of Jan Janszoon in 1630 that smoothed Wither's way to obtaining the plates from the heirs):

These Emblems, graven in copper by Crispinus Passaeus [...] came to my hands, almost twentie yeares past. [...] The Verses were so meane, that, they were afterward cut off from the Plates; And, the Collector of the said Emblems, (whether hee were the Versifier or the Graver), was neither so well advised in the Choice of them, nor so exact in observing the true Proprieties belonging to every Figure, as hee might have beene. Yet, the Workman-ship being judged very good, for the most part; and the rest excusable; some of my Friends were so much delighted in the Gravers art, and in those Illustrations, which for mine owne pleasure, I had made upon some few of them, that they requested mee to Moralize the rest. Which I condescended unto: And, they had beene brought to view many yeares agoe, but that the Copper Prints (which are now gotten) could not be procured out of Holland, upon any reasonable Conditions. If they were worthy of the Gravers and Printers cost, being only dumbe Figures, little usefull to any but to young Gravers or Painters, and as little delightfull, except to Children, and Childish-gazers: they may now be much more worthy; seeing the life of Speech being added unto them, may make them Teachers and Remembrancers of profitable things.⁵⁰

Wither was probably not the only one who preferred De Passe's clear and charming pictures to Rollenhagen's short and erudite poems. As noted above, through the force of their inventive draughtsmanship and skilled composition they vastly excel both earlier and later emblems in quality. They certainly enhanced the enormous success of the book and the influence it had. For it is remarkable, that it were the illustrations which were often copied, not only in other emblem books, but also in the decorative arts. Regularly, for instance, they return in the decoration of palaces in the whole of Europe. Their complete

⁵⁰ See Harms, 'Der Fragmentcharakter emblematischer Auslegungen', 59-60, and Rosemary Freeman's introduction in G. Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes* (London, 1634-1635; facsimile edition Columbia, 1975).

representation and accessible symbolism made them especially fitted for this kind of adaptation; in the meantime, Rollenhagen's distichs had become completely superfluous.⁵¹

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⁵¹ For the use of the emblems in the decoration of Flemish castles see M. van Vaeck, 'Beelden van omhoog. Hansches 17de-eeuwse plafonddecoraties in stucwerk in de kastelen van Horst, Modave en Beaulieu en in het Gentse Brouwershuis', *Monumenten en Landschappen* 16 (1997) 21-56. For the influence of De Passe and Rollenhagen in palaces in Prague see Lubomír Konečný, 'Tracking Rollenhagen in Prague' in: A.J. Harper and I. Höpel (eds.), *The German-Language Emblem in its European Context: Exchange and Transmission* (Glasgow, 2000) 167-182.

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*Umbra iuuentutis, formæ florentis Imago,
 Ut nitet artificj reddita-cunq; manu.
 Exterius talem finxit Natura; quod intus
 Mens agitat GENII es t; viuet id' INGENIO.*

En ceras os; hilaris frons, lumina bina gemelli
 Sideris len vegetis sinciput Ingenij!
 ROLLENHAGIDÆ, pingat si singula reuxis, acuta
 Pingere num potis est, indolis effigiem?
 Valens Cremcoelius.

Figure 1: Crispijn de Passe, *Gabriel Rollenhagen* [1611], engraving 13.5 x 10.1 cm (University Library, Amsterdam).



Figure 2: Crispijn de Passe, Emblem 20 from the *Nucleus* ('Transeat'), engraving (University Library, Amsterdam).



NON SCEPTRO virgo SED PLECTRO DUCITVR. Auren!
Spernit amor, venerem Musica blanda mouet.
Est hic vterq, tamen fallax Amor, instabilisq :
At firmus Vir tñ, quem parit vnus erit.

Figure 3: Crispijn de Passe, Emblem 7 from the *Nucleus* ('Non sceptro sed plectro ducitur'), engraving from the *Arcus* (Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna).



*Non mihi condo nemus, sed gratus POSTERITATI
 Quod dederant avari reddere constitui.
 Coniugij hic casti typus est, cui sola propago
 Est scopus, et seræ Posteritatis amor.*

Figure 4: Crispijn de Passe, Emblem 35 from the *Nucleus* ('Posteritati'), engraving from the *Arcus Cupidinis* (Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna).



*Disce bonas artes, et opes contemne caducas.
VIVITVR IN GENIO; CAETERA MORTIS ERUNT.*



Figure 5: Crispijn de Passe, Emblem 1 from the *Nucleus* ('Vivitur ingenio caetera mortis cru[n]t'), engraving (University Library, Amsterdam).

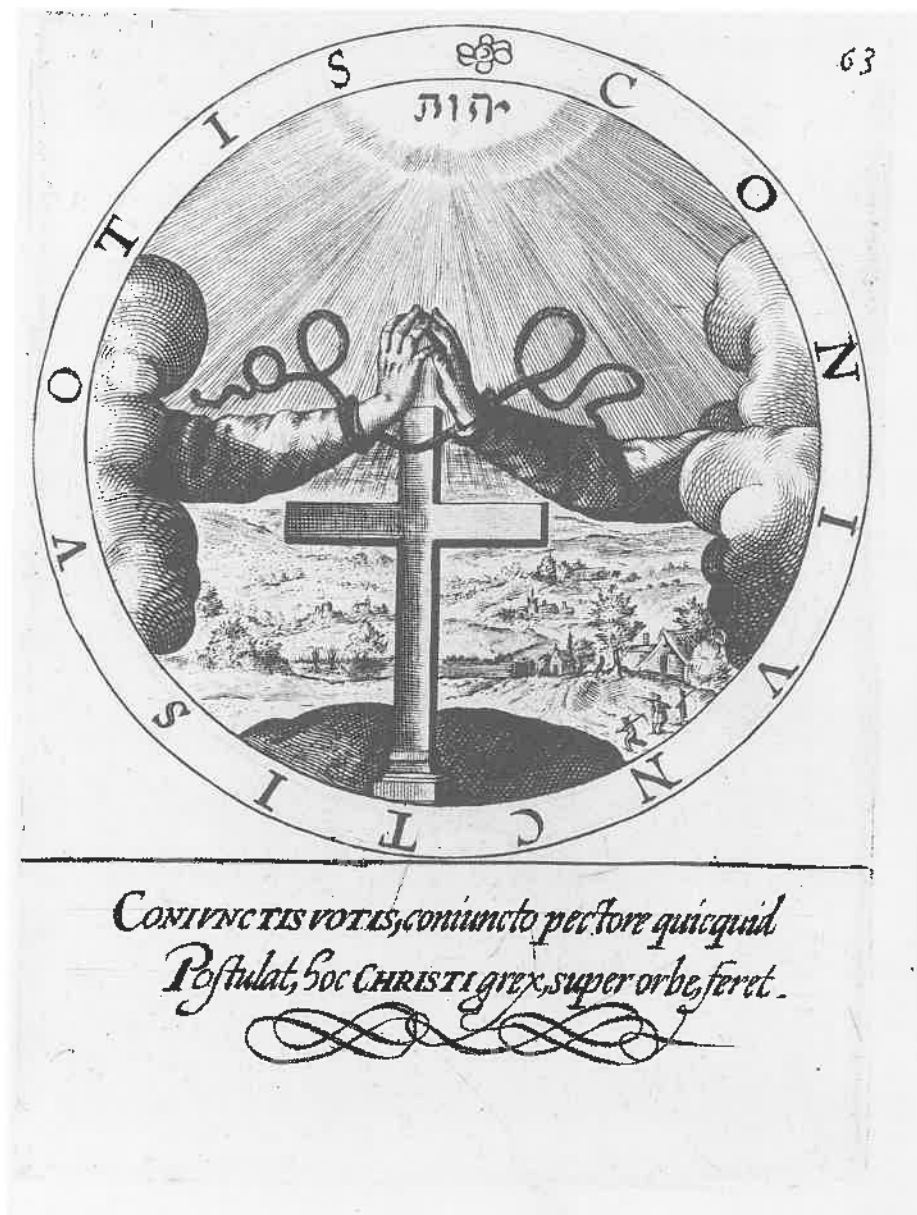


Figure 6: Crispijn de Passe, Emblem 63 from the *Nucleus* ('Coniunctis votis'), engraving (University Library, Amsterdam).



Et licet in tumbrampes decidat alter, et alter.

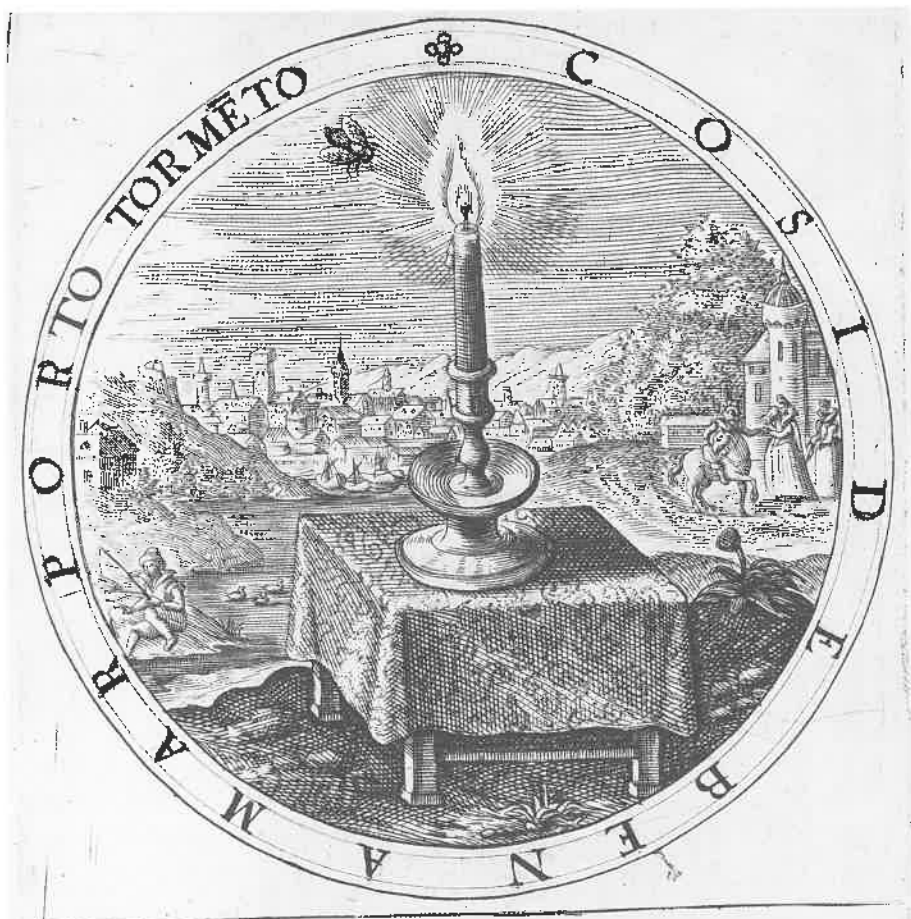
Vivat adhuc, s'fudijs INVIGILABO TAMEN.



Figure 7: Crispijn de Passe, Emblem 75 from the *Nucleus* ('Tamen discam'), engraving (University Library, Amsterdam).



Figure 8: Crispijn de Passe, Frontispiece of Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum* (1611), engraving 14.4 x 12.9 cm (University Library, Amsterdam).



*COSI DE BEN AMAR PORTO TORMENTO
 Et mor' ogn' hor' lieto è Contento .
 Musca velut sequitur flammam, ac se se inijcit igni
 Sic Veneris telis læta iuuenta perit .*

Figure 9: Crispijn de Passe, Emblem 64 from the *Nucleus* ('Cosi de ben amar porto tormen[n]to'), engraving from the *Arcus Cupidinis* (Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna).

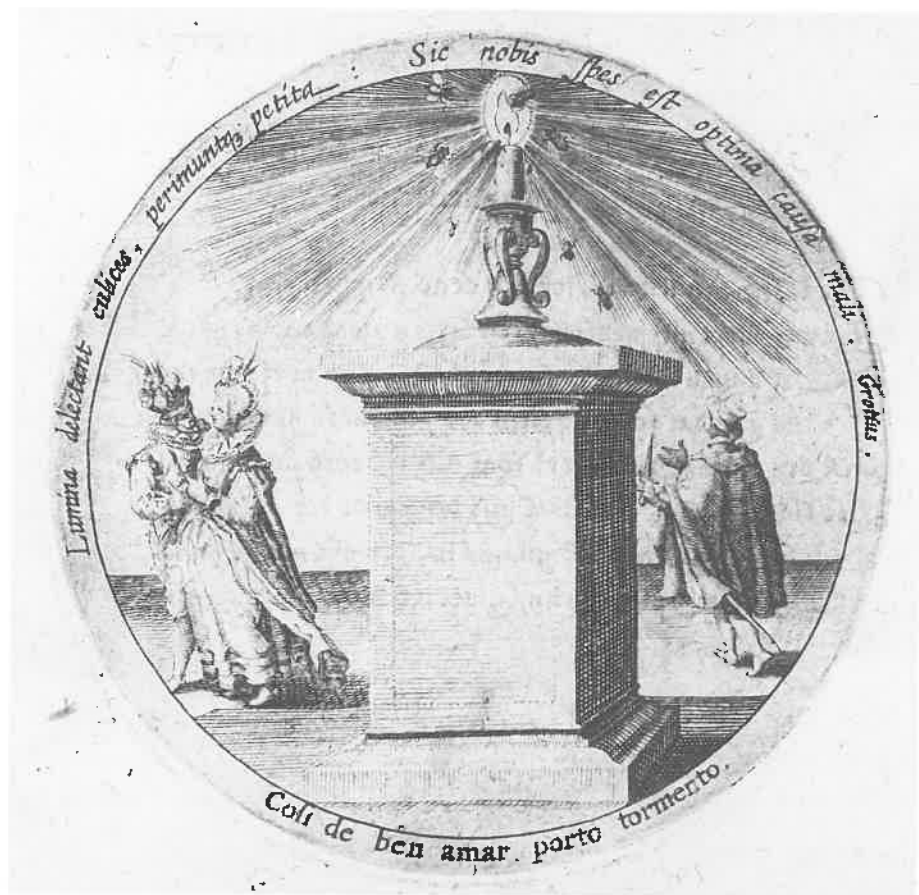


Figure 10: Zacharias Dolendo after Jacques de Gheyn II, Emblem 8 from Daniel Heinsius's *Quaeris quid sit amor* [1601], engraving (Royal Library, The Hague).

Occult Semiotics and Iconology: Michael Maier's Alchemical Emblems

GYÖRGY E. SZÖNYI

Introduction: Emblem, Emblematics, Occult Emblematics

According to Schopenhauer's last century definition, emblems are a step toward poetical allegories; they constitute simple patterns accompanied by an explanatory motto and their purpose is to convey moral teaching through an act of recognition.¹ The didactic function of emblems has always been emphasized, but there are other theories which underline the multiplicity of meaning and their strong revelational character, resulting from the condensed and high-powered interplay of words and pictures. Bypassing now the huge scholarly literature on emblems proper as a Renaissance literary genre,² let me concentrate now on the notion, 'emblematic'. This term has been used to referring to the whole wide landscape of early modern visual culture.

To understand 'emblematic' not only as a label of a specific genre, but as a whole way of seeing and describing the world, has its roots in the thinking of Francis Bacon, who in the *Advancement of Learning* equated hieroglyphs, emblems and gestures, thus radically widening the term's range of reference.³ Clearly, Bacon defined gestures and emblems as such forms of communication which are sanctified by tradition but at the same time have some similitude or congruity with the notion they signify. This understanding may have derived from the fascination of Renaissance Neo-Platonists with the emblematic ways of expression.

Philosophers, such as Ficino, distinguished between the human mind as capable only of sequential comprehension of propositions, as opposed to the divine Mind, which would accommodate the totality of propositions

¹ *Die Welt*, vol. I., Book III., par. 50. Quoted in Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery* (Rome, 1964) 14-15.

² Cf. Peter M. Daly, *Emblem Theory: Recent German Contributions to the Characterization of the Emblem Genre* [Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 9] (Nendeln, 1979) and Daly, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem. Structural Parallels between the Emblem and Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (reprint of 1979 with a new introductory chapter, Toronto, 1998) *passim*, including further bibliography.

³ Francis Bacon (Hartmut Krech, ed.), *The Advancement of Learning (1605)* (Bremen, 1998). <<http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~rbcar/adv2.htm>>, access: 1999-05-10. Ch. 16, par1-3; also referred to by McClelland, 'Emblematology', in: Thomas A. Sebeok (ed.), *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Semiotics* (Berlin and New York, 1994) I, 220-221.

simultaneously. Symbolic images were thought to contain a mass of propositions in a condensed, synthetic mode that evoked intuitive and revelative awareness in the human soul. This awareness would then lead one's mind toward participation in the divine *Mens*. Thus, the intuitive and mystical *exaltatio*, at least for those Renaissance thinkers, was a major goal to be achieved through emblematic expression.⁴

From the above it follows, that occult emblematics must have played an important role in the early modern career of the emblem, and indeed, not only the traditional emblem collections used sometimes esoteric motives for their didactic-allegorical themes, but occult discourse also employed the means of emblematic representation. The most famous emblem book belonging to the latter group was Michael Maier's *Atalanta fugiens*, a fascinating, multimedial collection of alchemical emblems.

Recently, Urszula Szulakowska has called attention to the fact that previous studies of Renaissance alchemical imagery rarely involved a discussion of its semiotic aspects, 'yet, without such an analysis it is difficult to establish the exact role of visual illustration within a particular context'.⁵

In the present essay I am going to examine Maier's alchemical emblems by the help of a combined semiotic and iconological approach. Prior to this, I shall sketch the biographical and cultural contexts in which Maier emerges as an outstanding practitioner of occult cultural representation. The following part will survey his alchemical discourse together with its various ideological and political subtexts. In the last part I shall examine the *Atalanta fugiens*, demonstrating how two functions of the pragmatics of images, the 'revelational' and the 'didactic' mix and melt in that work.

Biographical and Cultural Contexts

Who was Michael Maier? A German humanist, a small town medical doctor, a key figure in the history of the Rosicrucians, Emperor Rodolf II's favourite physician, a mysterious aristocrat who devoted his life to the study of the occult, or a 'poeta doctus' with a sharp pen, who wrote spicy satires about the

⁴ On the changes from the vertical to the horizontal world model, which contributed to the desemiotisation of reality and subverted transcendental semiosis see Juri Lotman, 'Problems in the Typology of Cultures', in: D.P. Lucid (ed.), *Soviet Semiotics* (Baltimore, 1977); the same process was described within an iconological framework by E.H. Gombrich, 'Icones Symbolicae. Philosophies of Symbolism and their bearing on Arts', in: *idem*, *Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1972) 123-199.

⁵ Urszula Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light. Geometry and Optics in Late Renaissance Alchemical Illustration* [Symbola et Emblemata 10] (Leiden, 2000) 1.

late-Renaissance lure with magic and alchemy? All these opinions can be found in the scattered literature on Maier. His significance is best summarized in Robert J.W. Evans' magisterial study of early modern Central European intellectual history, *Rudolf II and His World*:

The most mysterious of the court physicians was Michael Maier (1568-1622), an enthusiastic Paracelsan, alchemist, and reformer who served Rudolf during the years before 1612, then moved to Holland and Germany, and apparently paid more than one visits to England where he had friends in Robert Fludd and King James's doctor, Sir William Brouncker. Between 1614 and 1620 Maier produced a series of remarkable emblematic works on alchemical subjects, and all were published in the Rhineland, either at Oppenheim or at Frankfurt. Little is known of Maier's life beyond what he himself reveals in the prefaces to these books and it is far from clear why all appeared almost simultaneously, for the labour of inventing and preparing them must have occupied him through his Prague years and earlier.⁶

The classic study on Maier – Craven's book of 1910⁷ – gives more details but does not solve any of the mysteries about him. It is known that he was born in Holstein, that is Northern Germany, and studied medicine in this region at the University of Rostock. He received his degree rather late, at the age of 29, then he lived there until 1608, when he moved south and finally ended up at the court of the esoterically minded Emperor Rudolf in Prague.⁸ It would be interesting to know how he attracted the attention of Rudolf who was surrounded by hordes of physicians and alchemists,⁹ especially since at that time Maier had no publication record whatsoever.

⁶ Robert J.W. Evans, *Rudolf II and His World. A Study in Intellectual History 1576-1612* (Oxford, 1973; new, amended edition London, 1995) 205-206.

⁷ J. B. Craven, *Count Michael Maier. Doctor of Philosophy and of Medicine, Alchemist, Rosicrucian, Mystic, 1568-1622. Life and Writings* (Kirkwall, 1910; reprint London, 1968).

⁸ Craven, *Count Michael Maier*, chapter 1 (pages 1-11): 'Life of Maier'. See also the biographical summary in H.M.E. de Jong, *Michael Maier's 'Atalanta Fugiens': Sources of an Alchemical Book of Emblems* (Leiden, 1969) 1ff.

⁹ On Rudolf's court – beside the basic monograph of Evans' *Rudolf II*, see the following, more recent works: E. Fučíková and J. Bradburn (eds.), *Rudolf II and Prague. The Court and the City* (London-Prague, 1997) with, among others, Paula Findlen's 'Cabinets, Collecting and Natural Philosophy', 209-220; György E. Szönyi's 'Scientific and Magical Humanism at the Court of Rudolf II', 223-231, etc.; and the English summaries in Vladislav Zadravský, *Opus magnum. The Book of Sacred Geometry, Alchemy, Magic, Astrology, the Kabbala, and Secret Societies in Bohemia* (Prague, 1997); Vladimír Kuncit, 'Alchemy in the Czech Lands', 276-279; Luboš Antonín, 'Magia Naturalis and the Aristocratic Society of Bohemia and Moravia in the 17th and 18th centuries', 310-313; and also the papers in Lubomír Konečný, *Rudolf II, Prague, and the*

Maier nevertheless became one of the body physicians ('Leibartzt') of the Emperor and remained in that capacity in Prague till Rudolf's death in 1612. What is more, he was appointed to the post of private secretary to Rudolf and honoured with the title of Count Palatine. It appears that the baroque splendour of the Prague Habsburg court and city did not shatter Maier's northern Protestantism; his later writings show him to be a firm – although esoterically oriented – Lutheran, who always thought of practising science within an orthodox religious frame of thought.

His Protestantism may be one reason why he decided to move on from Prague in the direction of Holland and England. It seems curious, that after such a distinguished career, his first work to be published came out only in 1614 when he was already 46 years old. This publication, the *Arcana arcanissima*, is dedicated to Sir William Paddy. This first *opus* already clearly showed the characteristic angles of Maier's interest: a combination of scientific and hermetic research with a particular sensitivity to literature, humanistic rhetoric and classical mythology, often treated satirically.

In this respect, he seems to be an intellectual kin of Giordano Bruno, but it is also very interesting to recall the comparison the Reverend Craven offered, placing him between Robert Fludd and Heinrich Khunrath:

Fludd, no doubt, was as deeply learned as Maier – more extensively so, perhaps. But his studies were different. They were anatomical, cabalistic, in Jewish and Christian theology. Maier again, excelled in classical and profane learning. He had a thorough knowledge of all ancient mythology, particularly of Egypt as then known, and of Greece. [...] Maier did not profess to be a theologian. Fludd was one. Both types were united in a third, Heinrich Khunrath, whose *Amphitheatrum* and *Chaos* deserve more study than they have received.¹⁰ [...] There is no treatise which breathes more love, warm and devout, to Jehovah, Greatest and Best, than the *Tractatus Theologo-Philosophicus* of Robert Fludd. The same devout spirit may be seen, though perhaps in a stiffer form, in Maier's *Ulysses*. There appears to have been little learning then known which was not studied and assimilated by Maier. Fludd's

World (Prague, 1998): Václav Bůžek, 'Zwischen dem rudolfinischen Prag und den Höfen der Magnaten mit dem Wappen der fünfblättrigen Rose', 75-81; Jürgen Müller, 'Arcana Imperii', 184-192. See also Jan Sviták's trilogy, *John Dee in Bohemia; Sir Edward Kelley; Elizabeth Johanna Weston* (Chico, Cal., 1980-1989); Petr Vágnr, *Theatrum Chemicum: Kapholy z dějin alchymie* (Prague: Paseka, 1995); Václav Bůžek (ed.), *Dvory velmožů s erbem ruže* (Prague, 1997); etc.

¹⁰ Urszula Szulakowska has done justice to Khunrath in her recent, excellently contextualized analysis of his works (*The Alchemy of Light*, chapters 7-9).

reading, perhaps is more restricted, and Khunrath's mostly Scriptural. Yet these three completed the circle, and reveal to us eager souls, determined to master antiquity – Classic, Jewish, Christian.¹¹

A century later, Urszula Szulakowska's comparison is equally enlightening:

The classical erudition of Michael Maier's alchemical treatises are a world apart from the passionate intensity of Khunrath's embattled theosophy. Maier's main source for his alchemical symbolism was classical legend, while his impeccable literary style is modelled on the best ancient authorities. His work, in fact, emerges from the context of courtly humanism, rather than out of the academic discourse of the Protestant universities. In contrast, Khunrath's work was written primarily for a pictistic, local German community, while Fludd addressed a learned, international audience of natural philosophers and theologians.¹²

The years between 1614 and 1618 must have been the most exciting and inspiring period in Maier's life. This was the time when the so-called 'Rosicrucian craze' stirred up Central and Western Europe, the excitement having religious, scientific, and political implications alike.¹³ A great many of Maier's works were published during these four years, several of them being apologies of the Rosicrucians. His publishers were Lucas Jennis in Frankfurt and the famous Theodor de Bry in Oppenheim, who also published the monumental works of Robert Fludd. In fact, Fludd's *Utriusque cosmi historia* [...] appeared in the same year as Maier's *opus magnum*, the *Atalanta fugiens* (1617).

One of Maier's books published in 1616 was *De circulo physico quadrato* which was dedicated to another esoterically oriented prince, the Landgraf of Moritz of Hessen-Kassel who seems to have carried on the cult of

¹¹ Craven, *Count Michael Maier*, 10.

¹² Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 153.

¹³ On the Rosicrucians see Carlos Gilly, 'Iter Rosicrucianum. Auf der Suche nach unbekannten Quellen der frühen Rosenkreuzer', in: F.A. Janssen (ed.), *Das Erbe des Christian Rosenkreuz. Vorträge gehalten anlässlich des Amsterdamer Symposiums 18-20 November 1986* [Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica] (Amsterdam, 1988) 63-90; and Carlos Gilly (ed.), *Cimelia Rhodostauronica. Die Rosenkreuzer im Spiegel der zwischen 1610 und 1660 entstandenen Handschriften und Drucke*. [Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica] (Amsterdam, 1995); the whole collection of Janssen's mentioned publication (*Das Erbe des Christian Rosenkreuz*); Adam Maclean, 'The Impact of the Rosicrucian Manifestos in Britain', in: Janssen, *Das Erbe*, 170-180; Hans Schick, *Die geheime Geschichte der Rosenkreuzer* [Documenta Rosicruciana I] (Schwarzenburg, 1980); Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London, 1972) etc.

the occult, encouraged and patronized by Rudolf II.¹⁴ Whether this publication earned him the invitation to be Moritz's court physician is not known, but by 1619 he stayed in Kassel in the service of the Landgraf whose nickname was 'the Scientist'.

His last years sank in oblivion, just like his years of formation. From scattered evidence it seems that he in fact lived in Magdeburg and practised medicine there, instead of taking up residence with Moritz. He published yet two more books, both in Frankfurt, one in 1620 (*Septimana philosophica*, dedicated to the Archbishop of Magdeburg) and one in 1621 (*Civitas corporis humani*). He died in Magdeburg in 1622, rather unexpectedly, and left one posthumous work behind (*Ulysses*) which was published by one of his friends in 1624. According to Craven, this one is his highest intellectual achievement,¹⁵ however other, more recent literature has not paid too much attention to this work.

Alchemical Discourse with Ideological-Political Subtexts

Turning now to the contents of Maier's works, a statement by De Jong can serve as a suitable introduction. She argues, that his work 'should be seen against the background of the biographical data. His medical-philosophical training defined the level of his education; the surroundings in which he lived – the courts of Rudolf II and Moritz of Hessen – formed a matrix for developing his interests; and the people with whom he mixed and to whom he dedicated his books, stress the fact that Maier was an alchemist, a medical man and a Rosicrucian'.¹⁶

Following De Jong's train of thought, one could also suggest that – as opposed to many other thinkers associated with esoterism (such as Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, John Dee or Johann Valentin Andreac) – Maier's works show a relatively great coherence, as if they elaborate various aspects of the same central theme. Maier's works are also characterized by a syncretic ambition, which constantly juxtaposed and merged religious, scientific and humanistic-classical-mythological ideas. A particular feature of this ambition

¹⁴ On the magical contexts of some German courts cf. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*; Evans, *Rudolf II*; and recently specifically on Moritz of Hessen-Kassel Bruce T. Moran, *The Alchemical World of the German Court. Occult Philosophy and Chemical Medicine in the Circle of Moritz of Hessen (1572-1632)* (Stuttgart, 1991). See also Jost Weyer, *Graf Wolfgang II von Hohenlohe und die Alchemie. Alchemistische Studien in Sloss Weikersheim, 1587-1610* (Sigmaringen, 1992); and Debra L. Stoudt, 'Probatum est per me': The Heidelberg Electors as Practitioners and Patrons of the Medical and Magical Arts', *Cauda Pavonis* 14,1 (1995): 12-18.

¹⁵ Craven, *Count Michael Maier*, 10, 156-163.

¹⁶ De Jong, *Atalanta fugiens*, 5.

was that Maier in all his works combined verbal and visual discourse, using emblematic pictures as well as a strong figurative language to complement his discursive argumentation. This strong pictorialism connects him to certain intellectual trends (Neo-Platonism) as well as the stylistic developments of mannerist and early baroque expression.

As I have mentioned, his first published work, the *Arcana arcanissima* (1614) immediately manifested these characteristics, being a treatise comparing classical mythology and alchemy. The subject matter of the book is the occult-emblematic world of the Greco-Egyptian hieroglyphs which Maier interpreted as derivations of a most ancient Egyptian alchemical lore. Here he of course referred to the wisdom of the *Corpus hermeticum* and suggested that classical as well as Arabic mythology were nothing else but a figurative language about alchemy.

As De Jong remarks, this concept was not Maier's unique invention, rather a commonplace in Renaissance iconography which itself relied heavily on the Hellenistic and medieval alchemical tradition.¹⁷ His next work, *De circulo physico quadrato* (1616), concentrated on gold as the most central and perfect metal in the elemental world and developed this theme along the theory of correspondences by comparing it to the Sun as the central, 'golden' planet and the human heart as the 'fiery' center of the body. Still in 1616 Maier published another treatise on Mercury and its alchemical as well as allegorical importance, under the title *Lusus serius* (1616).¹⁸ In all the three above mentioned works one can find a strong religious subtext pointing toward an emblematic-allegorical interpretation of alchemy. This is especially apparent in *Lusus serius* where Mercury is equated with Christ.

After the first group of purely theoretical alchemical books, Maier started publishing works which involved alchemy in a social and

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, 8ff. The Renaissance interest in hieroglyphics was treated in detail in Wittkower's 'Hieroglyphics in the Renaissance' (see his *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols* (London, 1977) 113-128; and in other pertinent studies on Horapollo. The relationship of literary emblematics and hieroglyphics was highlighted by Peter Daly (*Literature in the Light of the Emblems*, 17-27) and Daniel Russell, 'Emblems and Hieroglyphics: Some Observations on the Beginnings and Nature of Emblematic Forms', *Emblematica* 1 (1986) 227-243. On the symbolic language of alchemy see also Eugene Canseliet, *Alchimie. Etudes diverses de Symbolisme hermétique et de pratique Philosophale* (Paris, 1964); H.M.E. De Jong, *Les symboles spirituels de l'alchimie* [Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica] (Amsterdam, 1988); Stanislas Klossowski De Rola, *The Golden Game. Alchemical Engravings of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1988); John Reed, *The Alchemist in Life, Literature and Art* (London, 1947); Alexander Roob, *The Hermetic Museum. Alchemy & Mysticism* (Cologne, 1997); and F. Sherwood Taylor, *The Alchemists. Founders of Modern Chemistry* (London, 1953).

¹⁸ Interestingly, this was one of the two works by Maier published in English in the early modern period: *Lusus serius, or, Serious passe-time a philosophical discourse concerning the superiority of creatures under man...* (London: H. Moseley, 1654; Wing catalogue no. M286).

cultural-historical context. Thus, *Symbola aureae mensae duodecim nationum* (1617) offered a history of alchemy in the format of a symbolic banquet where the representative alchemists of twelve nations were invited. The senior among them was Hermes Trismegistus of the Egyptians but the list – through the Greek Democritus and Roman Morienus – stretched to medieval authorities (the Arabic Avicenna, the German Albertus Magnus, the English Roger Bacon) and near-contemporaries, such as the Hungarian Melchior Cibinensis, author of the famous ‘alchemical mass’.¹⁹ The book consists of twelve emblems, each devoted to one of the twelve representatives of alchemy, arguing for a continuous presence of the ‘golden art’ in cultural history. Maier soon wrote a sequel to his *Symbola aureae*, that time treating the fools who had brought disgrace to the noble art of alchemy (*Examen Fucorum Pseudo-Chymicorum*, 1617).

The year 1617 meant the peak of his publishing output. The different works, coming out from more than one printing presses, represented all the directions of Maier’s interest. On the one hand he returned to theoretical questions of alchemy which he explained through mythological and emblematic imagery. For example in *Locus severus* (1617) he represented a colloquium of various emblematic birds (owl, crow, phoenix, goose, crane, raven, etc.) whose tribunal lead to the emergence of the bird of wisdom, Minerva’s owl and the phoenix as vital for the successful elemental as well as spiritual transmutation. Similarly, in *Atalanta fugiens* (1617) he also used mythological emblematics to talk about the deep secrets of hermetic alchemy. Another group of the same year was heralded by *Silentium post clamores* (1617), belonging to Maier’s reflections on and apologies for the Rosicrucians. This treatise tries to explain why the Fratres decided to keep quiet against all accusations and why they demand silence from the members who join them. The question gives Maier a good occasion to sketch up a genealogy of Rosicrucianism, reaching back to ancient Egyptian alchemists:

The author asserts that from very ancient times philosophical colleges have existed among various nations for the study of medicine and natural secrets. The philosophical colleges referred to are those of old Egypt, whose priests in reality were alchemists; of the Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries, of the Samothracian Cabiri, the Magi of Persia, the Brachmans of India, the Gymnosophists, Pythagoreans, &c. He

¹⁹ The text of the ‘alchemical mass’ is known only in Andreas Libavius’ transcript. On Melchior see László Szathmáry, (Iván Fónagy, intr., István Gazda, ed.) *Magyar alkémisták* (Budapest, 1986) 310-325.

maintains that one and all of these were instituted, not for the teaching of exoteric doctrines, but the most arcane mysteries of Nature.²⁰

In 1618 Maier's series of RC apologies continued with *Themis Aurea, Das ist Von dem Gesetzen und Ordnungen der löblichen Fraternitet R.C.* It contained the laws of the Rosicrucians and was published both in Latin and German, later to be followed by an English edition, too.²¹ The work consists of twenty chapters, the first beginning yet again with mythological meditations, explaining the meaning of *Themis*, who is the representation of the idea of Justice and the universal notion of true Virtue. Then follow the famous rules of the Rosicrucians which are also known from the Manifestos. Maier's text emphasizes the strong religious character of the movement, they obey first and foremost the King of Kings. The following chapters elaborate on the details of the principal laws. Mention is made of the famous book of 'M' from which the Brethren take most of their knowledge. This knowledge is of divine origin but one should be aware not to abuse it through diabolical practices. Much of this knowledge is expressed through hieroglyphical signs, just as the hierarchy among the Brethren: they have orders, each with its coat of arms and emblems to cover their mysteries. Maier treats the legend of Christian Rosencreutz as historical fact and describes the medical practices of the Brethren as follows:

The Brethren look chiefly to the constitution of the Patient, and do accordingly prescribe. They have in all things experience to confirme their knowledge; they use very choice Vegetables which they gather when they are impregnated with heavenly influences.²²

The above quotation recalls Ficinian stellar magic and Paracelsian pharmacy, propagating the efficacy of simple medicines as opposed to Galenic compounds. However, it is not only the advanced techniques, but also their magnanimity that differentiates the Brethren from all other physicians: 'Is not this a rare Society of men who are injurious to none, but seek the good and happinesse of all, giving each person what appertains to him?'²³

In the same year, in 1618, Maier published yet two more books on the theory of arcana. His *Viatorium, hoc est, De Montibus Planetarum septem seu Metallorum* was an introduction to the theory of metals and their astrological

²⁰ Quoted by Craven, *Count Michael Maier*, 65-66.

²¹ *Themis Aurea: the Laws of the Fraternity of the Rosie Crosse* (London: N. Brooke, 1656; Wing catalogue number: M287). The translation is dedicated to Elias Ashmole, renowned alchemist and antiquarian of the occult, also one of the first initiates of the English Freemasons.

²² *Themis aurea*, chapter V (London, 1656) 31-32.

²³ *Ibidem*, 42.

as well as alchemical correspondences – again by the help of elaborate mythological imagery. Already the title abounds in those, comparing the work to Ariadne's thread in the Labyrinth of Nature, or a Polar-Star, guiding the traveller on the immense sea of chemical errors. Complementing this publication, Maier also acted as editor by publishing three basic alchemical texts, the 'Twelve keys' of Basil Valentine, Norton's 'Ordinall of Alchemy', and Cremer's alchemical 'Testament' under the title *Tripus aureus, hoc est, Tres Tractatus Chymici Selectissimi [...] (1618)*.

After these golden years the number of publications started decreasing, but still, up to his death in 1622, he published at least one work each year. In 1619 he issued a 'little book of Nature's marvels'²⁴ under the title: *Tractatus de volucris arborea*, and also a mytho-historiographical work about the ancient past of Germany, treating famous historical figures such as Charlemagne as well as the theological and philosophical treasures of that land (*Verum inventum, hoc est Munera Germaniae ab ipsa primitus reperta*). Since this latter work was dedicated to Moritz of Hessen-Kassel, its pronounced national pride may result from the occasional nature of this historical summary.

His last major philosophical-speculative work was published in 1620, under the title of *Septimana philosophica* in which he devoted over 230 pages to the discussion of the traditions of ancient mystic sciences, beginning again with the Egyptians, then discussing the magical architecture of Hiram of Tyre (supposed designer for Solomon's Temple), and later arguing that all experimental sciences derived from this hermetic lore. Reading Maier's argumentation one recalls the much debated thesis of Dame Frances Yates, who asserted that in the backdrop of the scientific revolution one should also look for the Rosicrucians and other early modern occultists.

Among his posthumous works I have already mentioned his *Ulysses* (1624), but one also finds a previously unpublished little treatise in the second, enlarged edition of the *Musaeum hermeticum* (1678) entitled *Subtilis allegoria super selecta chymiae Perspicuae Utilitatis et Iucundae meditationis Michaelis Maieri*.²⁵

An analysis of Maier's alchemical discourse shows that it was heavily built on esoteric and classical symbolism. In it the chemical processes are dressed in an emblematic language that often uses the imagery of classical mythology. Another layer is his moral-didactic message wrapped in

²⁴ Craven, *Count Michael Maier*, 117.

²⁵ *Musaeum hermeticum reformatum et amplificatum [...] continens tractatus chymicos XXI praestantissimos [...] (Frankfurt, 1678)*. English translation in A.E. Waite, *The Hermetic Museum restored and enlarged* (London, 1893) II, 201-223. I am quoting the English text from an offprint of Waite's translation, published in 1984 by The Alchemical Press, Edmonds, WA (*A Subtle Allegory concerning the Secrets of Alchemy*).

cultural-historical references. These are often nonsensical if we want to take them literally. For example one can hardly understand how could somebody, having lived for many years in Central Europe, seriously claim that in Pannonia men lived in compact stone houses under water? Or that the hot springs of Carlsbad are hardened into stones?²⁶ The only sensible way of approaching such statements is that they were part of a long cultural tradition, having been repeated invariably since the time of ancient authorities, such as Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* or Plutarch's cultural anecdotes. In such discourse the important thing was not its realism or factual truthfulness, rather that it could suitably be used in moral allegories and emblematic expressions.²⁷

Considering Maier's figurative language, we should remember how earlier interpretative practice tried hard to find a synthesis of meanings, a final, ultimate, all-embracing reading of iconographically loaded works. The last few decades of post-structuralist theory, however, have taught us that there may be totally incompatible symbolic systems coexisting within the same work. What is more, we cannot help realizing that almost every work is incongruous and is a composite of sometimes antagonistic and hostile elements.²⁸ This is a particularly important lesson to bear in mind when we set to the interpretation of occult emblematics, such as the *Atalanta fugiens*.

Atalanta fugiens: Occult Semiotics and Iconology

Earlier scholarship has agreed that Maier's collection of alchemical emblems has various layers of meaning and reference as well as a complex, multimedial expression. To start with the latter: the book contains fifty emblems, complete in the technical sense of the term, that is being constituted of *inscriptio* (motto), *pictura* and *subscriptio* (poem). Following the custom of a few elaborate emblem books, Maier also added learned commentaries to his epigrams in which he revealed some of his allegorical meanings and also cited

²⁶ *A Subtle Allegory*, 11.

²⁷ On emblematic discourse see Daly, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem*, 181-188; John McClelland, 'Emblematology' 220-221; Praz, *Studies, passim*; György E. Szőnyi, 'Semiotics and Hermeneutics of Iconographical Systems', *Semiotische Berichte* [1995] 1-4 (*Bildsprache, Visualisierung, Diagrammatik*) 283-312, etc.; on the alchemical use of emblematics cf. De Jong, *Les symboles spirituels, passim*; Taylor, *The Alchemists*, 158, etc.

²⁸ On some more aspects of these theoretical concerns relating to occult symbolism see my papers, 'Semiotics and Hermeneutics of Iconographical Systems'; 'The Powerful Image. Towards a Typology of Occult Symbolism', in: G.E. Szőnyi (ed.), *Iconography East & West* [Symbola et Emblemata 7] (Leiden, 1996) 250-263; and 'Architectural Symbolism and Fantasy Landscapes in Occult Discourse', in: Alison Adams (ed.), *Emblems and Alchemy* [Glasgow Studies in the Emblem 3] (Glasgow, 1998) 49-71.

many of his predecessors in alchemy and the hermetic philosophy. A significant difference as opposed to the majority of emblem books is that the combination of text and picture is complemented by yet another medium, that is music. Maier composed fugas, each corresponding to the emblems and his purpose with this was on the one hand to show that the complexity of his philosophical meaning could only be expressed in such a sophistication of expression, while on the other hand the music was to lure the listener to a special meditative trance, in which his/her discursive logic could give way to a more immediate, intuitive understanding.²⁹ Beyond the variety of the employed media, the work's layers of meaning and reference are equally multiple. The main discourse is alchemical but it is told in mythological garb, and the oscillating tension between the technical and figurative languages shifts the emphasis in the direction of spiritual, philosophical and religious directions in a natural way. In relation to this spiritual discourse, then, the alchemical terminology itself becomes something like a metaphoric-allegorical slang.

The title-page of the English edition is a good summary of the work: it is complex and multimedial itself to anticipate what follows, at the same time calls attention to the multiple layers of meaning:

The Fleeing Atalanta

which means

New Chemical Emblems regarding the secrets of nature

partly suitable for the eye and the mind,

by means of copper plates and the mottoes, epigrams and annotations accompanying them,

partly suited to the ear and the refreshment of the soul,

by means of fifty musical fuges for three voices, of which two correspond to a simple melody,

which is suited to be sung in strophes of two lines;

emblems, which lend themselves to being looked at, read,

contemplated, comprehended, judged, sung and listened to

with particularly great pleasure.³⁰

²⁹ One of the fascinating modern editions of the *Atalanta fugiens* compiled by Joscelyn Godwin and Hildemarie Streich actually includes a cassette with modern reconstructions of Maier's fuges (see *Atalanta fugiens. An edition of the Fugues, Emblems and Epigrams*, translated from the Latin by Joscelyn Godwin, int. Hildemarie Streich [Magnum Opus Hermetic Sourceworks 22] (Grand Rapids, MI, 1989).

³⁰ For the English quotations I am using De Jong's edition (*Atalanta fugiens*, 1969) which also contains facsimiles of the illustrations.

The above text (with the impressum) is entirely framed by a picture populated with mythological characters. At the bottom Atalanta and Hippomenes represent volatile mercury and firm sulphur reminding the reader how Hippomenes with trick as well as charm managed to win the running race against the swift amazon. On the right side Venus is presenting the golden apples to Hippomenes by means of which he manages to distract the attention of Atalanta. Below them one sees the round temple of Cybele where the young couple made love thus infuriating the gods who turned them into wild animals. The pair of lions leaving the temple commemorate this, at the same time recalling one of the most important pictorial metaphors of alchemical transmutation.

On the left side of the page there is Hercules, accomplishing his eleventh labour: that is gathering the golden apples from the Garden of the Hesperides. On the top of the frontispiece, this ideal 'garden of beauty' can be seen, recognized after the characters of Arethusa and Hesperusa who are watching a dragon and an eagle, two other important symbolic animals of alchemy. So Maier on the title-page depicted the alchemical process in a nutshell, and De Jong also meticulously documented how this particular mythological fable had been used by generations of alchemists before him to refer to transmutation.³¹

'The emblems of the *Atalanta fugiens* do not intend to render a fixed succession of various alchemical processes, beginning with looking for the primary matter, and ending with finding the Philosophers' Stone', De Jong observed.³² Rather, as if following the humanist principle of 'varietas delectat' – which was also the logic of rendering most Renaissance emblem books –, Maier revisited in his emblems and commentaries various themes connected with the alchemical processes as well as general hermetic wisdom. It seems, that his main purpose was not so much to give a new comprehensive system as to offer new interpretations of well-known and much discussed themes and topics.³³ Perhaps the most characteristic *inventio* of Maier's treatment is his providing a classical-mythological framework and emblematic visualization based on this figurative frame of reference.

One should not think, however, that the *Atalanta fugiens* does not offer any novelty in its philosophical concepts, although it is true that by and large

³¹ Cf. De Jong's detailed analysis of the title-page, *Atalanta fugiens*, 314–329.

³² De Jong, *Atalanta fugiens*, 333.

³³ Maier's main sources, especially for selecting the mottoes, were Morienus' *De transmutatione metallorum*, Senior's *Tabula Chimica*, the *Turba philosophorum*, the *Tabula smaragdina*, Petrus Bonus' *Margarita pretiosa novella*, the *Rosarium philosophorum*, and the works of Nicholas Lambsprinck (*Libellus de lapide philosophico*), Bernard of Treviso (*Aurifontina chymica*), George Ripley (*The Compound of Alchymy*) etc. (De Jong, *Atalanta fugiens*, 333 and *passim*).

the work is traditional.³⁴ In any way, it provides an excellent test case to study the semiotics of occult representations. Applying Jonathan Goldberg's suggestions, Urszula Szulakowska concluded that the stylistic conflict between the naturalism of the emblems and the abstraction in their meaning produces an ambiguous space which in case of the alchemical emblems can be seen as filled by visual metonymes, or, in Peirce's terminology 'an indexical affinity between reality and the illusionistic world of the picture'.³⁵ Szulakowska recalls Peirce's distinction between 'index' and 'symbol': while indexes point to their referent by means of some organic or causal connection (natural signs), symbols are arbitrary and conventional representations. Peirce's third famous category is the 'icon', which is 'a sign which stands for something merely because it resembles it'.³⁶ Peirce, however, understood 'resemblance' in a liberal way and thus also introduced the notion of 'iconic openness' which for him meant that 'the icon does not stand unequivocally for this or that existing thing, as the index does. Its object may be a pure fiction, as to its existence'.³⁷

Using these differentiations, Szulakowska suggests that 'it would initially appear that most alchemical visual signs should be termed 'iconic' since they signify irrational concepts, such as 'the union of opposites''.³⁸ However, in the case of sixteenth and seventeenth-century 'naturalistic' alchemical illustration the case becomes different, since the realistic aesthetics of the Renaissance added an indexical element to the iconic signifiers. I would add to this, that these 'naturalistic' illustrations, then, at the same time, function as Peircian 'symbols', being invariably conventional, 'metaphoric' signs calling for (figurative) interpretation.

The emblems of the *Atalanta fugiens*, in fact, show a variety of hybrid signs which oscillate between different signifiatory orders. Since there is no room here to analyse the whole complex collection, let me illustrate this feature by three examples.

Emblem XXIV represents a metaphoric-mythological scene presented in a naturalistic style. The motto says: 'The wolf devoured the king and after the wolf had been burnt, it returned the king to life'.³⁹ This is a reference to a

³⁴ Maier's work in fact exercised important influence on a great number of 17th and 18th century alchemical publications. How his themes and topics were continued, cf. Hermann Kopp, *Die Alchemie in alterer und neuerer Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte* (Hildesheim, 1962, [facsimile of the Heidelberg edition, 1886]) 2: 8, 220, 323, 339, 341, 350, 354, 366-70, 375, 381, 384.

³⁵ Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 1-2. For reference to Peirce, cf. the following footnote.

³⁶ Charles S. Peirce, (Charles Hartshorne a.o., eds.), *Collected Papers*. (Cambridge, Mass., 1931-1958) 3: §362 (reference is made to vols. and paragraphs).

³⁷ Peirce, *Collected Papers*, 4: §531.

³⁸ Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 2.

³⁹ De Jong, *Atalanta fugiens*, 186ff.

phase of the alchemical work: the King is the Philosophers' Stone. He has to be killed by the wolf (antimony, or *prima materia*) and be purified by fire, after which he resurrects. The Epigram and the picture are in harmony, the picture actually faithfully illustrates the happenings related in the poem:

Make sure that you catch the voracious wolf,
By throwing the king's body before it.
[...]
Then throw it on the pile, where Vulcan kindles the fire,
That through this monster may be reduced to ashes.
Do this time after time, and so the king will rise from death,
And he will be proud of his Lion's heart.

As De Jong has identified, the source of this rendering was Basil Valentine's *Twelve Keys* which Maier himself published in his *Tripus aureus*. The text explains the alchemical process through allegorical and mythological images, for example:

But just as a physician cleans and purifies the internal body by means of his medicine, so our matters must be cleaned and purified from all their impurities, so that in our creative work perfection may be attained. [...] Take care that the king's diadem consists of pure gold, and that a chaste wife is united to him. Therefore, if you want to work with our matters, you should take the voracious wolf, which is subject to the bellicose Mars, but which is a son of the grey-haired Saturn, and which is consumed by an unappeasable hunger [...].⁴⁰

We can conclude that in the picture all three Peircean aspects of the sign can be found: strongest is the indexical function which through the naturalism of the style points toward outside reality on the one hand, and on the other it points toward the accompanying texts (motto, poem and commentary) thus creating a contextual frame of reference. Furthermore, the picture has an iconic function, too, namely the way it presents conceptual entities: the 'king', the 'wolf', etc. However, since these elements have to be allegorically-metaphorically decoded according to a conventional cypher, we have to take into consideration a strong symbolic aspect of the etching, too.

Another interesting example from the collection is Emblem VIII the picture of which shows a man cutting through an egg with a sword. The setting is very intriguing, it resembles the perspectival 'city'-scenery of Renaissance

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, 189.

stages with two perplexing elements: on the left side there is an open fireplace with fierce flames in it and on the backside city-wall there is a square-shape opening which leads into a very long perspectival tunnel demonstrating how parallel lines meet only in infinity.

The motto is very laconic: 'Take an egg and pierce it with a fiery sword'.⁴¹ The short poem alludes to the phoenix whose egg must be searched by the adept, then

Attack it cautiously with a fiery sword, (as is the custom);
Let Mars assist Vulcan; the bird arising from it
Will be a conqueror of iron and fire.

The greater part of the commentary is again mythological, reflecting Maier's interests. He unfolds the various stories relating to the phoenix and connects them to the activities of Vulcan, the story of Athene's birth, etc., which all can be interpreted as allegories for the alchemical work. Again, these motives can be found in basic alchemical treatises, such as the *Turba philosophorum*, but Szulakowska points out the novelty of Maier's treatment which is the inclusion of the perspectival tunnel on the picture. Through textual and iconographic analysis she proves that this theatrical setting connects Maier's Pythagorean theurgy to the whole tradition of the alchemy of light which culminated in the late Renaissance in John Dee's Vitruvianism in his *Mathematicall Preface*, Heinrich Khunrath's *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (1609), and Robert Fludd's 'Theatrum Orbi' in his *Utriusque cosmi historia* (Oppenheim: de Bry, 1617).⁴² As Szulakowska emphasizes, while the *Atalanta fugiens* draws mostly on medieval sources, these are contextualized within a Paracelsian framework centered on the quintessence. Another layer is the astrological framework of reference which includes speculations on the Zodiac, theurgic powers of solar rays, and includes allegorical references to catoptrical magic.

One of Maier's most cryptic emblems is No. XXI which again has a naturalistic surface (a rugged old wall in a northern European Renaissance town on which a scholar is drawing a diagram), however, it is dominated by a mystical cosmogram consisting of circle, triangle and quadrat, and also featuring a naked human couple. The motto suggests that the making of the Philosophers' Stone is connected with the ability to square the circle: 'Make a

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, 95ff.

⁴² Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light*, 163ff. For the significance of Vitruvianism in Renaissance occult philosophy see Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London, 1969) 112-135.

circle out of a man and a woman, out of this a square, out of this a triangle, / Make a circle and you will have the Philosophers' Stone'.⁴³

On Maier's picture the adept acts as a geometer, completing the program of the motto. The first four lines of the epigram are mere verbal comments on that program, the last two lines, on the other hand, refer to reception, understanding on the part of the viewer: 'If a thing so obvious does not come readily to your mind, grasp the principles of geometry, and you will know everything'.⁴⁴ The picture itself calls for a manifold and complex understanding: while it does not contain a narrative-based allegory as the previously mentioned wolf / *prima materia* and king image, it functions rather as a mandala, a sign for meditation and illumination. The interplay of circles, triangle and square, combined with the human couple does not only recall the alchemical process of composition and dissolution of the chemical hermaphrodite, but also opens cosmic as well as moral-philosophical perspectives. Demonstrating, as Heninger summed up, that 'man is indisputably created in the image of deity. And by participating in heterosexual love, he reiterates the harmony and symmetry of the cosmic scheme'.⁴⁵

Like all the other pictures in the collection, this emblem also unites the three Peircean aspects of the sign, but, in contrast to the rest of the book, in this case the indexical function is by far overshadowed by the iconic and symbolic aspects. The viewer has to come to the understanding of it through a very complex decoding program of symbolization, while at the same time the simple and universal geometric elements of the diagram function as strong iconic 'firstness', directly imprinting in the intellectual perception of the beholder by their schematic, abstract nature.

Observing this reception-mechanism leads us to our last question to discuss, namely the pragmatics, that is the possible handling and employment of these (and other occult-philosophical) emblems. Following some concepts of Erwin Panofsky and Ernst Gombrich I have already proposed a typology of the use of such conventionally coded symbolic images.⁴⁶ Let me briefly recall that typology here, too. While Panofsky tried to establish the stages of understanding an image from the layers of forms through themes to the complex, iconological worldview,⁴⁷ Gombrich classified images according to their

⁴³ De Jong, *Atalanta fugiens*, 166ff.

⁴⁴ As translated by S.K. Heninger, *The Cosmographical Glass* (San Marino, Ca., 1977) 189. For further comments see C.G. Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy* (London, 1980) 125-126; De Rola, *The Golden Game*, 68; and Szönyi, 'The Powerful Image', 254-255.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*

⁴⁶ Cf. my papers mentioned in footnote 28.

⁴⁷ Erwin Panofsky, 'Iconography and Iconology' in: *idem, Meaning in the Visual Arts* (1955, London, 1993) 51-82.

function, dividing them into didactic, revelational and magical images.⁴⁸ He associated these with the different attitudes to the two main philosophical orientations of the Renaissance, that is Aristotelianism and Platonism.

I am suggesting that the didactic (Aristotelian) and revelational (Platonic) functions of images were highly relevant and widely exploited in the pragmatics of occult symbolization. Emblem XXIV, for example, seems primarily a didactic allegory which wanted to teach about the alchemical process through a mythological fable. As opposed to this, Emblem XXI seems more suitable to bring the viewer into such a position of reception in which discursive logic is abandoned and the iconic elements of the picture result in an intuitive understanding of cosmic or supernatural truths. Emblem VIII is an interesting mix of the two modes of construction and expression.

The above observations should be completed by a caveat of post-structuralist literary theory. By today it has become a commonplace for scholars of literature and cultural representations, that 'the meaning' is not inherently embedded in the picture or text of an artwork, rather it is generated in the dialogical space between the work and the addressee. Bearing this in mind, it will be impossible to set up once-and-for-all valid categories about the classes of didactic, revelational or magical images, so it will be also impossible to classify Maier's emblems in *Atalanta fugiens*. Much depended, if not everything, on the disposition of the reader of that emblem book. The attitude of the user of the emblems remains a vital factor up to today, demanding totally different techniques of handling, depending on whether one tries to approach them for example as a scholar or as a believer of occult philosophy.

In spite of the difficulties, I argue that it is possible to come to good approximations about the built-in programs of occult emblematics. This can be done by gathering information about the use of these works through available contextual information, and by employing a complex semiotic and structural analysis concentrating on the whole collection and the relationship of its elements to each other. In this respect the inclusion of the musical fuges in the examination will prove to be of vital importance, as it is hinted by the edition of Godwin and Streich (1989).

Taking all this into consideration, one can easily come to the conclusion that a comprehensive understanding of Maier's *Atalanta fugiens* can still accommodate a great deal of research that must also include theoretical aspects of emblem studies as well as cultural semiotics.

⁴⁸ Gombrich, 'Icones symbolicac', 123-199.

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—, *Lusus serius, quo Hermes sive Mercurius [...] judicatus et constitutus est* (Oppenheim: Lucas Jennis, 1616; English edition: London, 1654).

—, *Atalanta fugiens, hoc est Emblemata nova de secretis naturae chimica [...]* (Oppenheim: de Bry, 1617).

—, *Examen fucorum pseudo-chymicorum. Dectorum et in gratiam Veritatis amantium succincte refutatorum* (Frankfurt: de Bry, 1617).

—, *Jocus severus, hoc est Tribunal Aequum, quo Noctua Regina Avium, Phoenice arbitro post varias disceptationes et querelas volucrum eam infestantium pronuntiatur [...]* Palladi sacrata agnoscitur (Frankfurt: de Bry, 1617).

—, *Silentium post Clamores, hoc est, Tractatus Apologeticus, quo causae non solum clamorum seu Revelationum Fraternitatis Germanicae de R.C [...]* (Frankfurt: Lucas Jennis, 1617).

—, *Symbola Aureae Mensae Duodecim Nationum. Hoc est, Hermaea seu Mercurii Festa ab Heroibus duodenis selectis, artis Chymicae usu, sapientia et autoritate Paribus celebrata [...]* (Frankfurt: Lucas Jennis, 1618).

—, *Themis Aurea. Das ist Von dem Gesetzen und Ordnungen der löblichen Fraternitet R.C.* (Frankfurt: Lucas Jennis, 1618; English edition: London, 1656).

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Hieremias Drexel's Emblem Book *Orbis Phaëthon* (1629): Moral Message and Strategies of Persuasion*

T. VAN HOUDT

Introduction: the Genesis and Diffusion of Orbis Phaëthon

There is ample reason to hail Hieremias Drexel (1581-1638) as an important representative of Jesuit emblematics. Though it may have attracted less scholarly attention than the emblem books composed by Joannes David and Hermannus Hugo, to mention only a few of the most influential emblem authors of the Jesuit order, Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon, hoc est de universis vitiis linguae*, as well as his other, more devotional, tracts were immensely popular both in the Catholic and the Protestant world.¹ As Peter M. Daly observes, Drexel was by far the most published European writer in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²

Born in Augsburg in 1581 as the son of Lutheran parents, Hieremias Drexel soon converted to Catholicism and joined the Jesuit order as early as 1598, at the age of seventeen. After his philosophical and theological studies at the university of Ingolstadt, he worked as a teacher at Jesuit schools in Munich and Augsburg. In 1615, he was appointed preacher (*Hofprediger*) to the court of Maximilian of Bavaria in Munich, a post he held for 23 years until his death in 1638.³ During his service at court, he revealed himself as an extremely

* I would like to express my gratitude to James Latham who has drawn my attention to Drexel's emblem book and encouraged me to investigate it in more detail. I am particularly indebted to him for having allowed me to use his hitherto unpublished English translation of Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon*. Furthermore, I would like to thank the editors for their suggestions and remarks. I am also grateful to Ingrid Sperber for correcting my English.

¹ For a full bibliographical list, see now Gerhard Dünnhaupt, *Personalbibliographien zu den Drucken des Barock. Zweite, verbesserte und wesentlich vermehrte Auflage des Bibliographischen Handbuchs der Barockliteratur*, 2 (Stuttgart, 1990) 1368-1418, and Peter M. Daly - G. Richard Dimler S.J., *The Jesuit Series*, Part One, A-D [Corpus Librorum Emblematicum] (Montreal, 1997) nos. J.164-J.238; Part Two, D-E (Toronto, 2000) nos. J.239-J.500.

² Peter M. Daly, 'A Survey of Emblematic Publications of the Jesuits of the Upper German Province to the Year 1800', in: Peter M. Daly, G. Richard Dimler SJ und Rita Haub (eds.), *Emblematik und Kunst der Jesuiten in Bayern: Einfluss und Wirkung* [Imago Figurata. Studies, vol. 3] (Turnhout, 2000) 45-68 (especially 53).

³ A more detailed biographical account is offered by Karl Pömbacher, *Jeremias Drexel. Leben und Werk eines Barockpredigers* (Munich, 1965) and Heribert Breidenbach, *Der Emblematiker Jeremias Drexel S.J. (1581-1638), mit einer Einführung in die Jesuitenemblemik und einer*

prolific author, writing nearly one book a year in the 1620s and 1630s. All of them were based on sermons he had earlier delivered before the Duke and Duchess of Bavaria. The *Orbis Phaëthon*, a voluminous emblem book on the vices of the tongue which was first issued in 1629, was no exception to the rule.

Drexel was by no means the first author to pay attention to the abuses of the tongue. His work belongs to a rich intellectual tradition that goes back to classical antiquity. Indeed, ancient philosophers and rhetoricians invariably taught their pupils how to govern their tongue. Their preoccupation was shared by the fathers of the church, who laid the basis of what was to become a full-fledged ethics of language. In the vast corpus of penitentials which were amassed during the Middle Ages, distinct chapters were devoted to the various vices of the tongue, catalogued more or less systematically and analysed in some detail. Penance was required for sins ranging from simple garrulity to the far more serious crime of blasphemy.⁴ This catalogue of vices pertaining to the tongue was cast in a scholastic mould by theologians such as St Thomas Aquinas, who developed a consistent theory about the role of language as the basis for human organization within the community. As will be shown below, Drexel was thoroughly familiar with the theological examinations of St Thomas Aquinas and the Spanish Doctors who in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries consciously followed Aquinas's lead. Aside from these examinations, the virtues and vices of the tongue were also discussed in books of courtesy, treatises on table manners, and educational manuals.⁵ It could be argued, however, that the *Lingua*, a polemical treatise composed and published by Desiderius Erasmus in 1525, was the very first monograph written on the ethics of language. It played a modest, though by no means insignificant, role in the history of emblem literature in so far as it served as the basis for the emblem book *Linguae vitia et remedia* composed by the Bruges canon Antonius a Burgundia in 1631.⁶ Earlier attempts to find connections between Erasmus's treatise and Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon* have failed.⁷

Bibliographie der Jesuitenemblebücher (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1970) 180-192.

⁴ Carla Casagrande, Silvana Vecchio, *Les péchés de la langue. Discipline et éthique de la parole dans la culture médiévale* (Paris, 1991) discuss at length the medieval canon of evil tongues, comprising 'blasphemia', 'murmur', 'mendacium' (and the related vices of 'periurium' and 'falsum testimonium'), 'contentio', 'maledictum', 'contumelia' and 'convicium', 'detractio', 'adulatio', 'iactantia' and 'ironia', 'derisio', 'turpiloquium' (and the concomitant vices of 'scurrilitas' and 'stultiloquium'), 'multiloquium', 'verbum otiosum' and 'vaniloquium', and 'taciturnitas'.

⁵ Cf. Toon Van Houdt, 'Introduction', in: Antonius a Burgundia, *Linguae vitia et remedia* (Antwerp, 1631) [Imago Figurata. Editions, I] (Turnhout, 1999) 11-15.

⁶ Cf. Toon Van Houdt, 'The Governing of the Tongue: Language and Ethics in Erasmus' *Lingua* (1525) and Burgundia's *Linguae vitia et remedia* (1631)', in: John Manning, Karel Porteman and

The *Orbis Phaëthon, hoc est de universis vitiis linguae* is a prose composition. It consists of a series of fairly long-winded sermons on the various vices of the tongue which are arranged in alphabetical order. No less than forty-three vices are tied to the twenty-three letters of the Latin alphabet, with a plate at the beginning of each chapter.⁸ As Drexel did not find any vice corresponding to the last three letters (X, Y, Z), he used those chapters to indicate adequate remedies to curb the tongue. Each plate contains between one and six images, which are explained in the course of the following chapter. The plates were executed by Philip and Raphael Sadeler Junior, sons of Raphael Sadeler Senior, *Hofkupferstecher* of Maximilian.⁹ Although the *picturae* play an important role in the *Orbis Phaëthon*, underlining the spiritual nature of the work and strongly supporting the process of meditation the reader is invited to undergo, and which will be analysed in more detail later, the connection between word and image is sometimes rather loose. Indeed, the images refer to anecdotes and similes which do not necessarily occupy a central place in the *Orbis Phaëthon*, truly a storehouse of hundreds and hundreds of comparisons and stories which are heaped up in a fairly unsystematic way. In short, *Orbis Phaëthon* is to be considered an emblematically illustrated work where the plates have become an integral, if minor part, rather than an illustrated emblem book in the strict sense of the word.¹⁰

The title of the work is illustrated on the engraved title-page to the 1631 edition (see figure 1). The first image at the top shows Phaëthon losing control of the horses that lead the sun in its orbit from sunrise to sunset. As they sweep down towards earth, they set it on fire ('Incendit Phaëthon'). As such, the image emblematically refers to the wicked tongue which 'like the fiery and imprudent charioteer, has been ruining the world with his flames since time

Marc van Vaecck (eds.), *The Emblem Tradition and the Low Countries. Selected Papers of the Leuven International Emblem Conference, 18-23 August, 1996* [Imago figurata. Studies, vol. 1b] (Turnhout, 1999) 77-90.

⁷ James Latham, 'Text and Image in Jeremias Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon*', in: Daly (a.o., eds.), *Emblematik und Kunst der Jesuiten*, 85-105, esp. 99-103.

⁸ The vices discussed by Drexel are listed in the first appendix to this article.

⁹ The engravings under the letters D, E, F, K, L, N, T, and Z were made by Philip whereas Raphael Junior took care of the letters A, B, C, M, O, P, Q, R, V, X, and Y. Cf. Breidenbach, *Der Emblematiker Jeremias Drexel S.J.*, 226-235 and 319. For the activities of the Sadeler family, see also I. de Rammaix, *Les Sadeler*, exhibition catalogue (Brussels: Royal Library, 1992).

¹⁰ For a neat categorization of emblem literature, see e.g. Peter M. Daly, 'A Survey of Emblematic Publications', in: Daly (a.o., eds.), *Emblematik und Kunst der Jesuiten*, 46-47.

immemorial'.¹¹ The bottom left of the title-page is occupied by Atlas who gives away, as he is hardly able to support the white-hot vault upon his shoulders ('Succumbit Atlas'). In the right corner, we see Pythagoras, traditionally a model of silence, who is said to be capable of holding up the world on his own ('Sufficit Pythagoras').¹²

As was often the case with Drexel's works, the *Orbis Phaëthon* was printed by more than one publisher in Munich within one year. Furthermore, a German translation authorized and supervised by Drexel appeared in 1631 under the title *Zungen Schleiffer oder Brinnende Weltkugel von bösen Zungen angezündet*.¹³ Together, the Munich printers and booksellers Melchior Segen, Nicolaus Henricus, and Cornelius Leysser must have released thousands of copies of the *Orbis Phaëthon*, as can be inferred at least indirectly from the account given by Leysser in his preface to Drexel's *Noë, architectus arcae* (Munich, 1639).¹⁴ It is inconceivable that all these copies were destined for a local market only. Soon after 1629, clandestine editions began to appear in other cities, such as Cologne and Douai.¹⁵ In 1636, the *Orbis Phaëthon* was included in the collected works of Drexel published by Joannes Cnobbaert in Antwerp, a printer who had excellent contacts with various members of the Jesuit order and had specialized in publishing didactic and devotional works.¹⁶

In 1643, the widow and heirs of Joannes Cnobbaert published an edition of Drexel's *Opera omnia* which soon established itself as a standard edition for years to come. The edition was made by the Augustinian friar Petrus de Vos (ca. 1598-1658) from Schiedam who lived and worked in Bruges. De Vos

¹¹ 'En verissimam, sic loquar, fabulam, non Phaëthontis, sed Linguac, quae velut igneus sed imperitissimus auriga Orbem terrarum suis incendiis jam dudum pessundat'. (*Ad benevolum lectorem*, placed at the end of the volume without numbered pages).

¹² The story of Phaëthon goes, of course, back to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, II.1-326. For a more detailed analysis of the title-page, see Latham, 'Text and Image', 87-90.

¹³ It was made by the Jesuit Joachim Meichel, whom Drexel esteemed so highly that he committed the translation of all his works to him from 1626 onwards. Cf. Dieter Breuer, 'Besonderheiten der Zweisprachlichkeit im katholischen Oberdeutschland während des 17. Jahrhunderts', in: Jean-Marie Valentin (ed.), *Gegenreformation und Literatur. Beiträge zur interdisziplinären Erforschung der katholischen Reformbewegung* [Beihefte zu Daphnis, 3] (Amsterdam, 1979) 145-163 (especially 151).

¹⁴ Cf. Alan R. Young, 'Jeremias Drexel's *The Christians Zodiacke* (1647) and Protestant Meditation', in: Daly (a.o., eds.), *Emblematik und Kunst*, 253, n. 5.

¹⁵ They were issued by Cornelius ab Egmond in Cologne and by Balthasar Bellère in Douai. C. Sommervogel mentions a 1632 edition by Joannes Cnobbaert, but this information seems dubious at best; *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 3 (Brussels-Paris, 1892) cols. 192-193, no 11. Cf. Dünnhaupt, *Personalbibliographien*, 1370, no 1.6.

¹⁶ The *Opera spiritualia* published by Balthasar Bellère at Douai in 1636 and reissued by the widow and heirs of Joannes Cnobbaert at Antwerp in 1643 do not contain the *Orbis Phaëthon*, although the title of the work is clearly indicated on the title-page.

limited himself to adding a series of indices to Drexel's work in order to make it more accessible to catechizers, preachers and other categories of readers who were eager to use it as a commonplace-book to be pillaged for their own purposes. De Vos's achievements were praised at length by the Bruges canon and emblem author Antonius a Burgundia, who in the laudatory letter attached to De Vos's edition¹⁷ presents himself as an avid reader of Drexel's works.¹⁸

Priority Claims

As we have seen, Drexel could not claim to have written the very first work on the vices and remedies of the tongue, as many authors had treated the subject-matter before. More often than not, however, the ethics of language and speech was part of a larger moral discussion in which other issues were addressed as well.¹⁹ As a consequence, Drexel could nourish hopes of producing the first and definitive monograph on the abuses of the tongue. The preface to the reader seems to suggest that this was indeed the author's ambition. However, it also seems to suggest that the author felt a little disappointed in his hopes. According to Drexel, some other writers had preceded him: 'Scio annis prioribus de linguae malo non neminem scripsisse'.²⁰ This did not prevent Drexel from claiming priority for his own intellectual achievement. He wants his readers to know — or rather, to believe: 'quod mihi tuto credes' — that he had been preaching on the ethics of

¹⁷ It should be noted that it was Antonius a Burgundia who sent a letter to Petrus de Vos, not the other way round. In other words, the *Opera omnia* were not dedicated to Antonius, as Paul Begheyn erroneously states in his contribution 'The Emblem Books of Jeremias Drexel SJ in the Low Countries. Editions between 1622 and 1866', in: Daly (a.o., eds.), *Emblematik und Kunst der Jesuiten*, 269-288 (pp. 271-272).

¹⁸ This is quite interesting, as Burgundia, too, was the author of an emblem book on the vices of the tongue; an emblem book, furthermore, that was also published by Joannes Cnobbaert, the printer who in 1625 had started to divulge Drexel's emblematic works in the Southern Low Countries, partly in close collaboration with Balthasar Bellère in Douai. As I have indicated above, Burgundia's emblem book *Linguae vitia et remedia* was issued for the first time in 1631 — two years after the publication of the *Orbis Phaëthon* in Munich and within the same year as the clandestine edition by Bellère in Douai. There is reason to wonder, therefore, whether Drexel inspired Burgundia to compose his own emblem book on the ethics of language and speech. It is difficult to answer this question with a sufficient degree of certainty at the present stage of research. More scholarly work is called for in order to trace similarities in the choice of subject-matter, wording and pictorial motifs.

¹⁹ As indicated above, Erasmus's *Lingua* is an exception to the rule. However, its scope is more polemical than didactic. Furthermore, it is unclear whether Drexel knew the work.

²⁰ I quote from the IDC microfiches of the 1629-edition published by Melchior Segen and Nicolaus Henricus.

language two years before these works appeared in print.²¹ Furthermore, he is eager to minimize the merits of his predecessors: they have overlooked a number of important vices, he contends, thereby leaving it to him to write the first all-encompassing work on the abuses of the tongue. Such a line of reasoning smacks, of course, of rhetoric and is to be found in many prefaces added to early modern books. It can be argued, however, that Drexel had particularly good reasons for adopting this rhetorical strategy as he had come across a work that looked very similar to the one he had in mind and felt obliged to distance himself from it as much as possible.

Drexel does not mention any of his predecessors by name in the preface to the reader. In one of the last chapters devoted to the remedies and cures for a vicious tongue he refers briefly to the *Lingua aurea Christianorum modum rectum tam dicendi quam loquendi docens* composed by the Benedictine monk Leonardus Rubenus, a work in which considerable attention is paid to the detrimental effects of sinful speech.²² However, the *Lingua aurea* was probably not Drexel's main target, as it was published as early as 1610 — nine years before he preached on evil tongues, that is²³ — and differed from his own project in so far as Rubenus's work presented itself as a manual for future preachers.²⁴ Much more similar in scope was *Universitas iniquitatis*, a moral tract on the vices of the tongue written by Joannes Pelecycus (1545-1623), a fellow Jesuit and townsman, in 1620.²⁵

Pelecycus's work consists of two parts. In the first part, the author discusses the harmful influence of evil tongues in general and gives some moral advice which should enable the reader to curb his tongue. In the second part, the author focuses on specific abuses and suggests particular remedies to

²¹ 'Sed et hoc te scire velim, quod mihi tuto credes, biennio toto, antequam ea in lucem vulgarentur, me de Linguae vitijis, in Aula Serenissimi Electoris, Bavariae Ducis Maximiliani, pro suggestu disseruisse'.

²² *Orbis Phaethon*, III, 26, 512.

²³ In the dedicatory letter to Archbishop Paris of Salzburg, Drexel explicitly states that he delivered his sermons on the vices of the tongue from the year 1619 onwards: 'Anno Christiano millesimo sexcentesimo decimo nono, ista pro suggestu docere coepi, et inde hacc scriptio'.

²⁴ On Rubenus (1551-1609) and his work, see Walther Killy and Rudolf Vierhaus (eds.), *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie*, 8 (Munich, 1998) 431.

²⁵ *Universitas iniquitatis sive de mortiferi linguae humanae veneo eiusque praesenti remedio libri duo*, Monachii: impensis Joannis Hertstroy, 1620. I have consulted a copy preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (shelf number: D-87492). A German translation — or rather adaptation — was issued in 1622: *Zungen-Cur, Das ist: Von der Menschlichen Zunge Tod, und schädlichen Gifft, und Unheyl. Wie auch von dero selben heylssamen Artzney. Beschriben: Von dem hochwürdigem Paier Joannem Pelecycum, Soc. Jesu Theologum*. Gedruckt zu München, durch Nicolaum Henricum, Im Jahr 1622. Cf. C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 6 (Brussels-Paris, 1895) cols. 440-445.

be applied to each of them. His list is slightly shorter than Drexel's: Pelceyus treats no more than thirty different 'tongues'.²⁶ Interestingly enough, he arranged the various tongues in alphabetical order — just as Drexel would do in his *Orbis Phaëthon*. This is not to say that Drexel slavishly copied Pelceyus's treatise when adopting an alphabetical arrangement of the subject-matter. On the one hand, alphabetical arrangements were not uncommon in medieval and early modern didactic and moralizing literature, with the use of the alphabet serving as a practical mnemonic device.²⁷ Drexel alludes to this mnemonic function in the preface to his work where he urges his readers to know the twenty-three letters of his alphabet as thoroughly as they know their own name — a task which they cannot perform without the aid of an excellent teacher 'for there is no one who does not hesitate, hallucinate and stammer from time to time in this alphabet'.²⁸ There is, however, an even more compelling reason why Drexel wanted to arrange the 'tongues' in the order of the alphabet. In the epilogue to his work, he refers to a sermon by the famous Jesuit theologian and preacher Alphonsus Salmeron (1515-1585) in which it is stated that 'the Tongue is an alphabet or a mass of vices' ('Linguam esse Alphabetum seu congeriem omnium vitiorum'; 649). The tongue is the source of innumerable kinds of evil which tend to spread and pile up in an utterly chaotic, seemingly uncontrollable manner, affecting both the young and the old, the rich and the poor, the humble and the noble. By using the alphabet as a grid, Drexel aimed to convey an impression to his readers of the all-pervasive nature and cumulative effects of improper speech.

To summarize, in 1620, Pelceyus published a moralizing treatise on the ethics of language and speech, in which the various 'tongues' were arranged in alphabetical order. Just a few months earlier, Drexel had started to hold

²⁶ See the list in appendix 2.

²⁷ The moralizing tracts by the Bavarian Jesuit Joannes Niess (1584-1634) are a case in point: *Alphabetum Diaboli seu vitia praecipua, quae adolescentem Christianum perdunt. Iuventuti in gymnasiis Societatis Iesu versanti dicatum et ad cautelam ac detestationem vitiorum propositum* (Munich, 1618) and *Alphabetum Christi seu virtutes praecipuae quae adolescentes ornant* (Munich, 1619). Cf. C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 5 (Bruxelles-Paris, 1894) cols. 1767-1769. Interestingly enough, the latter work was illustrated and sold by Raphael Sadeler Senior. Not only does Niess present vices and virtues in alphabetical order, but he also inserts separate abecedarian lists into the main catalogue. Niess drew on Drexel's publications (cf. *Alphabetum Diaboli*, editio quinta auctior, Dillingen, 1624, 13-21). Conversely, Drexel knew of Niess's publications, as is proven by a footnote in the chapter on the blasphemous tongue (*Orbis Phaëthon*, II, 7, 144: 'Ioan. Niesij Alphab. diab. v. Blasph'. It should be noted that in his *Alphabetum Diaboli*, Niess pays attention to several vices of the tongue.

²⁸ 'Nemo est, ausim dicere, nemo est, qui non in hoc Alphabeto subinde haesitet, hallucinetur, balbutiat'.

sermons on the same subject-matter, obviously with the intention of putting them together and publishing the definitive work on evil tongues. In a way, Drexel reached his goal. His *Orbis Phaëthon* quickly overshadowed the work of Pelecyus — and that of many other authors as well. All over Europe, readers eager to know how to curb their tongue — or that of their fellow Christians — would rather peruse *Orbis Phaëthon* than *Universitas iniquitatis* or any other moralizing treatise. This is not surprising at all as Drexel offered them more than any of his predecessors: authoritative texts from Scripture, moral exempla and sententiae extracted from authors sacred and profane, as well as ancient and contemporary historical anecdotes are heaped up by Drexel in a way that does not fail to impress and sometimes even baffle the reader. *Orbis Phaëthon* is a treasure-house which dazzles the reader, and is meant to do so.²⁹ It is clearly the result of a rigorous application of an elaborate commonplace method which enabled Drexel to rapidly turn his vast erudition into voluminous and erudite works of his own. To him, quantity was as important as quality.³⁰

The Orbis Phaëthon and the Commonplace Tradition

No matter how impressive Drexel's display of erudition may be, it should not make us forget that the execution of an ambitious literary project like the *Orbis Phaëthon* was greatly facilitated by the existence of detailed commonplace books in the early seventeenth century. Far from being obliged to anthologize ancient, medieval and contemporary literature from scratch, Drexel could draw on printed works of compilation. To be more precise, it can be proven that Drexel borrowed from Janus Gruterus's *Florilegium magnum seu polyanthea* first issued in Strasbourg in 1624. A modernized and expanded version of the *Polyanthea* of Dominicus Nanus Mirabellius (1503), Gruterus's *Florilegium magnum* presents itself as a moral encyclopaedia constructed according to the principles of an early modern commonplace book.³¹ Gruterus

²⁹ Cf. Latham, 'Text and Image', 92-95.

³⁰ Drexel explained his commonplace method in some detail in *Aurifodina artium et scientiarum omnium. Excerpendi solertia omnibus litterarum amantibus monstrata*, published at both Munich and Antwerp in 1638. For a discussion of this work, see Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford, 1996) 232-237 and Florian Neumann, 'Jeremias Drexels *Aurifodina* und die *Ars excerpendi* bei den Jesuiten', in: Helmut Zedelmaier und Martin Mulrow (eds.), *Die Praktiken der Gelehrsamkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit* [Frühe Neuzeit, Band 64] (Tübingen, 2001) 51-61. About Gruterus and the *Polyanthea*, see Moss' article in this volume, pages 1-16, esp. 13-15.

³¹ Cf. Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, 93-95 and 205-207; Jean Céard, 'De l'encyclopédie au commentaire, du commentaire à l'encyclopédie: le temps de la Renaissance', in: Roland

systematically gathers quotations from Greek and Latin church fathers, philosophers and orators, historians, poets, emblem authors, as well as long series of *sententiae*. All these quotations are subsumed under separate lemmata which have been arranged in alphabetical order. Taken together, the lemmata offer an overview as exhaustive as possible of moral issues, including a long list of vices of the tongue, ranging from 'adulatio', 'assentatio' and 'bilinguitas' at the beginning of the work to 'taciturnitas', 'turpiloquium', and 'versutia' at the end of the alphabet.

A number of evil tongues discussed by Drexel can be traced back to Gruterus.³² This is not the point, however. For the Jesuit's list of forty-three vices is ultimately derived from the medieval canon of evil 'tongues'; most of the seemingly 'new' vices treated by the author can be considered as specific cases that can easily be subsumed under the broader categories established by the medieval theologians. The relevant fact is that Drexel borrowed a significant part of his erudite quotations from Gruterus's commonplace book. This is notably the case with the many *sententiae* woven into the various chapters of *Orbis Phaëthon*. Indeed, Drexel is especially fond of 'one-liners' which he invariably quotes without referring to an exact source, using instead rather vague indications such as 'Vet. Iamb', 'Vet. Trochaicus', and 'Monost. Trochaic'. It was under exactly such headings that Gruterus collected these *sententiae* in his *Florilegium magnum*. The chapters devoted to lying ('mendacium') (part II, chapters 4-6) are an excellent case in point. In chapter four, Drexel quotes for example two iambic verses, one after the other: 'Nil vanitate mentiendi turpius' ('Nothing is more shameful than the vanity of lying') and 'Odere divi, odere homines mendacium' ('Both gods and men hate lies'; II, 4, 84). Drexel simply took them from Gruterus's discussion of lying. Under section no 8 ('Iambica'), Gruterus assembled no less than fifty-one *sententiae*, all of them neatly arranged in alphabetical order.³³ The lines quoted by Drexel are to be found among them. In fact, all the other *sententiae* inserted into the chapters on lying in *Orbis Phaëthon* can be traced back to Gruterus. The Jesuit author took them over without any change. It should be noted,

Schaer (ed.), *Tous les savoirs du monde. Encyclopédies et bibliothèques, de Sumer au XXI^e siècle* (Paris, 1996) 164-169 (esp. 169). For a recent bibliographical account on Janus Gruterus (1560-1627), see C.L. Heesakkers, art. 'Gruterus (Janus)', in: Colette Nativel (ed.), *Centuriae Latinae. Cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières offertes à Jacques Chomarat* [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 314] (Geneva, 1997) 405-410.

³² The following 'tongues' are discussed by Gruterus and Drexel alike: *adulatio, lingua bifida, blasphemia, convicium, derisio, detractio, lingua fraudulenta et fallax, garrulitas, hypocrisis, kalumnia, lingua lasciva, mendacium, lingua murmurans, lingua nugigerula, ostentatio, scurrilitas, and turpiloquium*.

³³ *Florilegium magnum*, vol. I, 67-69.

however, that Drexel's extensive use of Gruterus's commonplace book is not limited to the borrowing of some 'one-liners'. A minute analysis of, for instance, Drexel's discussion of 'convicium' (I, 11) reveals that nearly half of all the non-biblical quotations is also to be found in Gruterus's work under the very same heading 'convicium'. In those cases in which Drexel refers to ancient Greek authors, he closely follows the Latin version which he found in Gruterus's commonplace book.³⁴

The Political Dimension of Orbis Phaëthon

Although Drexel discusses an impressive array of vices of the tongue and insists on the all-pervasive nature of wicked speech, stressing that it is a phenomenon that affects all ranks of society, he nonetheless makes a special effort to highlight the political dimension of the subject-matter. Apart from a lengthy discussion of well-known tongues such as the flattering tongue ('lingua adulatoria') and the tongue that offers bad advice ('lingua maligne consulens'), which gives the author the opportunity to criticize typical but undesirable aspects of court life, he also introduces new kinds of verbal abuse which cannot be traced back to the canon of evil tongues as it had been established in medieval moralizing literature. This is notably the case with what Drexel has labeled the 'political' tongue ('lingua politica'), a tongue which bears some resemblance to flattery, hypocrisy and mendacity, but has some peculiar features of its own. It is a tongue that adorns, or rather flaws, the mouth of people who think that the means one uses are wholly justified by the goal one seeks to reach and who have a great song and dance about the common good, while at the same time pursuing their own private interests. In short, it is the wicked tongue of machiavellian politicians and calculating courtiers.³⁵

The focus on the political dimension of language and speech is of course perfectly in line with the genesis of Drexel's work. As mentioned above, it was based on sermons delivered at the court of Maximilian, Duke of

³⁴ I, 11, 245: 'Greg. Nyss. orat. 4 contra Eunomium' (*Florilegium*, 412); I, 11, 247: 'Epictet. enchir. c. 27' (*Florilegium*, 413; Drexel made a few minor changes); I, 11, 248: 'Simplicius interpres in Epicteti Enchir. c. 65' (*Florilegium*, 413); I, 11, 248: 'Isidorus Pelus. lib. 4, epist. 49' (*Florilegium*, 413); I, 11, 249: 'Simplicius in c. 14 enchir. Epict.' (*Florilegium*, 413); I, 11, 251: 'Isid. Pelus. l. 1, epist. 480' (*Florilegium*, 412); I, 11, 252: 'Isid. l. 3, epist. 231' (*Florilegium*, 413); I, 11, 253: 'Ambr. l. 1 offic. c. 6' (*Florilegium*, 414); I, 11, 254: 'Basil. serm. de ira' (*Florilegium*, 414; Drexel left out a couple of lines); I, 11, 256: 'Chrys. hom. 21 in epist. ad Rom.' (*Florilegium*, 412).

³⁵ II, 15, 272-293 (*De politica lingua*).

Bavaria. Moreover, Drexel dedicated his work to Archbishop Paris of Salzburg, thereby as it were transferring his *Orbis Phaëthon* from one court to another. Understandably enough, the author wanted to tackle issues which were particularly relevant to rulers and their courts: 'These admonitions regard all kings and princes together with their counsellors and courtiers, provided that they are open to instruction and the truth'.³⁶ Not unlike other anti-machiavellian writers, Drexel aimed to prove that it was perfectly feasible for a Christian to be engaged in political affairs without losing his moral integrity. Eager to safeguard – or to restore – the bridge between the useful ('utile') and the upright ('honestum'), Drexel strongly rejected Machiavelli's famous statement that what was important to a ruler was not to possess certain virtuous qualities but rather to seem to possess them. The author wholeheartedly subscribed to Lipsius's well-known and frequently quoted assessment of Machiavelli in the preface to his *Politica* of 1589: 'If only he had led his Prince along the right way to the temple of virtue and honor. But too often he strayed, and while he intently pursued the paths of utility, he wandered from this royal way'.³⁷ The quotation is slightly misleading as Drexel adopted a far more intransigent attitude towards the use of deception than Lipsius in his *Politica*. Despite the many references to this work, it is quite clear that Drexel's political program was more in line with Lipsius's more outspokenly anti-machiavellian treatise *Monita et exempla politica* issued in 1605 and the *Politico-Christianus* published by his fellow Jesuit Carolus Scribani in 1624.³⁸

Contrary to political emblem books such as Diego de Saavedra Fajardo's *Idea di un principe politico christiano*, first issued in Munich in 1640, the *Emblemata regio-politica* composed by Solórzano Pereyra in 1651, or the less well-known *Principe perfecto* (1657) published by the Spanish

³⁶ 'Omnium Regum ac Principum cum Consiliarios tum ceteros aulae comitatus haec monita spectant, modo institutionis ac veri sint patientes' (Epistola dedicatoria).

³⁷ 'Utinam Principem suum recta duxisset ad templum illud Virtutis et Honoris! Sed nimis saepe deflexit (audite o boni Politici, mali Christiani) nimis saepe deflexit et dum commodi illas semitas intente sequitur, aberravit a regia hac via'. (II, 15, 287). In the chapters on the deceitful tongue (I, 22: *de fallaci lingua*) and the hypocritical tongue (I, 24: *de hypocritica lingua*), Drexel explicitly refers to Machiavelli's *Prince* in order to condemn the ideas expressed in the work.

³⁸ Cf. Robert Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince: Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe* (Chapel Hill-London, 1990); *idem*, 'Les jésuites et la conduite de l'état baroque', in: Luce Giard, Louis de Vaucelles (eds.), *Les jésuites à l'âge baroque (1540-1640)*, Collection 'Histoire des jésuites de la Renaissance aux Lumières' (Grenoble, 1996) 229-242. It should be noted that the references to Lipsius must have appealed to Maximilian of Bavaria, who as a student acquainted himself thoroughly with Lipsius's political writings and valued them highly throughout his life. Cf. Heinz Dollinger, 'Kurfürst Maximilian von Bayern und Justus Lipsius', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 46 (1964) 227-308.

Jesuit and royal preacher Andres Mendo in 1657, the *Orbis Phaëthon* is not to be considered an emblematic mirror of princes,³⁹ as it focuses less on rulers than on their entourage, the politically active elite surrounding a prince and partaking in court life. The image of court life presented by Drexel is not very uplifting. Indeed, the author shows us a microcosm of highly ambitious and distrustful noblemen who are involved in a subtle, yet deadly serious game to enhance their own status and honor by ingratiating themselves with their prince, on the one hand, and by harming or even destroying their competitors' good name, on the other.⁴⁰ It is a world infected with ostentation, flattery and hypocrisy, yet at the same time a world full of rumor-mongering, backbiting, and even direct verbal assaults through insults and reproofs. It is a world where each participant has to learn the hard lesson of how to survive and deal with the unchristian but almost ineradicable practice of verbal abuse.

Defining, Analyzing, and Curing

A more detailed analysis of the chapters on verbal abuse enables us to detect the general pattern according to which Drexel composed his sermons. As a rule, he begins the discussion of a 'tongue' by referring to St Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*. For defining and categorizing a vicious tongue is a first, albeit crucial, step towards a more penetrating analysis which is ultimately meant to cure readers of either having recourse to sinful speech or feeling victimized by it.

Following the lead of St Thomas, Drexel defines detraction as the act of revealing, directly or indirectly, the real or alleged defects and faults of a person in order to blacken his good name.⁴¹ The vice is all the more detrimental as the victim often is not even aware that he is being dragged through the mire. For how does one defend oneself against an aggressor who does not fight openly but rather uses hidden ways of blackening other people's

³⁹ On the genre, see e.g. Hans-Otto Mühleisen, 'Weisheit - Tugend - Macht. Die Spannung von traditioneller Herrschaftsordnung und humanistischer Neubegründung der Politik in Spanien des 17. Jahrhunderts, nachgezeichnet am Beispiel von Andres Mendos Fürstenspiegel 'Principe Perfecto'', in: Hans-Otto Mühleisen and Theo Stamm (eds.), *Politische Tugendlehre und Regierungskunst. Studien zum Fürstenspiegel der Frühen Neuzeit* [Studia Augustana 2] (Tübingen, 1990) 141-196.

⁴⁰ 'Invidia' and 'superbia', together with the concomitant vice of 'acumulatio', appear to be the main sources of both insulting and backbiting. Cf. I, 16, 336 and II, 31, 626.

⁴¹ I, 15, 312; cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, IIa.IIae, quaest. 73, art. 1. Roy J. Deferrari's definition in *A Latin-English Dictionary of St. Thomas Aquinas based on the Summa Theologiae and selected passages of his other works* (Boston, Mass., 1960) 283 is misleading as it limits *detraction* to the revelation of *real* defects and faults.

reputations? Drexel gives a fairly detailed list of strategies used by detractors to damage someone's good name. From his analysis it becomes quite clear that, strictly speaking, detraction is not merely a vice of the tongue but rather involves other parts of the body as well. Detraction is a specific kind of verbal behavior and can therefore rightly be represented as a tongue — and a very wicked one at that. At the same time, however, it is part and parcel of a wider non-verbal communication system. There are typical gestures and facial expressions which introduce and accompany the diffamating stories told by a detractor. More important, a detractor is capable of harming another person without uttering any word at all. This happens for instance in conversation when an absent person is praised. Far from taking part in the conversation, the detractor visibly seals his lips, shakes his head disapprovingly, or moves his eyes to suggest that the person in question does not really deserve the praise he is receiving.⁴²

As we have seen, a detractor will try to diffame someone by revealing his or her defects and faults. Here an interesting moral and legal question arises, which has led many a theologian and jurist to analyze the nature and scope of detraction in more detail. Is it really sinful and forbidden to reveal the truth about the conduct of an absent person? Is it not the moral duty of any Christian to tell the truth, however unpleasant it turns out to be? Following the lead of all late scholastic theologians, Drexel clearly states that, in such cases, the criterion between licit and illicit verbal behavior does not lie in the true or false nature of the message conveyed. What is really at stake here is the public or private dimension of the information one seeks to divulge.⁴³ In a way, gossiping is quite innocent as long as the rumors spread are limited to bits of information which are already widely-known and thus belong to the public domain. As the information is public, it can hardly damage the reputation of the slandered person anymore: he has already lost his good name. Drexel wisely refrains from entering into a lengthy casuistical discussion about the number of people who should be informed about some practice or other in order to consider that information to be public rather than private or, to use the scholastic and juridical terminology common at the time, to consider an act — and consequently the person who has committed the act — to have gained notoriety.⁴⁴ In general, Drexel seems inclined to dissuade his readers from spreading any kind of information — true or false, public or private — at all.

⁴² I, 15, 317.

⁴³ Cf. Ian Maclean, 'Smaad en de betekenistheorie in Europa van 1500 tot 1630', *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Rechtsfilosofie en Rechtstheorie* 24 (1995) 113-131 (*passim*).

⁴⁴ On the concept of notoriety, see further Toon Van Houdt, 'Publiek nut en persoonlijke eer. Geschiedenis en ethiek in het laat-scholastieke denken', in: *Historiography and Theory/Theoretische Geschiedenis* 23,2 (1996) 195-205.

There is, however, one notable exception to this rule. If need be, a man can reveal his secret knowledge to a priest or another person who has sufficient moral authority to reprove the sinner in private and bring him back to the path of virtue from which he seems to have deflected. In doing so, the informant is only fulfilling his Christian duty. Far from indulging in detraction and backbiting, he shows himself to be a man of charity.⁴⁵

Drexel pays as much attention to persons who are guilty of verbal abuse as to those who are confronted with it. In the case of detraction, he gives severe admonitions to the bystanders, who are often all too eager to listen to gossip and, by doing so, to offer the detractor the platform he needs to tell his salacious but diffamating stories. Furthermore, the listeners will be tempted to follow his lead and start gossiping themselves.⁴⁶ In the chapter on insults, Drexel addresses people who have fallen prey — or are likely to fall prey — to verbal abuse. He does not do so out of sentimentality, to show compassion. His real aim is to build a strong dam to block the ever more rapidly expanding evil of insulting. This he can only achieve if he succeeds in offering its victims a viable alternative to the wide-spread practice of retorting which, for all its apparent efficiency, has the detrimental side-effect of starting off a process of ever-increasing mutual verbal assaults; an escalation which can easily end up in physical violence and possibly even bloodshed.⁴⁷

Drexel counsels patience. Taking the ancient Stoic philosopher Epictetus as a model, he offers his readers a long list of arguments meant to improve their capacity of remaining unaffected by, if not completely immune against, the ravages of verbal abuse. This first of all requires his readers to carry out a penetrating, yet at the same time completely detached, analysis in order to perceive the difference between reality and false opinion in all circumstances. Once the distinction is clearly established, the reader will realize that, more often than not, he lets himself be carried away by his anger and frustration because he is misled by his false judgement. Thus, the reader has to learn that he is not insulted by the man who attacks him but rather by his idea that the man is insulting him:

Bear in mind that it is not the man reviling or striking you who insults you, but it is your judgement that these men are insulting you. Therefore, when someone irritates you, be assured that it is your own opinion which has irritated you. And so make it your first endeavor not

⁴⁵ I, 15, 315 and I, 16, 349.

⁴⁶ I, 18, 375-400: 'Auditores detractorum quam graviter delinquant'.

⁴⁷ I, 11, 244-245: 'Multis non satis est par pari reddidisse; convicium non tantum reponunt, sed cum amplo foenore'.

to be carried away by the external impression; for if once you gain time and delay, you will more easily become master of yourself.⁴⁸

The reader has to reflect upon the verbal attack which has occurred, examining it systematically from all possible angles and making a clear distinction between fact and opinion, between what has really happened and his own perception of what has happened. In so doing, he will eventually reach the conclusion that he has not been damaged at all, but rather that he has benefited from the aggressor's action. For the insult has either been completely unfounded and therefore does not deserve any further attention (for any attempt to deny the allegations and insinuations made will turn out to have the opposite effect) or else it has brought to the surface flaws in his life and personality that should perhaps be mended. Whether truthful or not, the offender has rendered his victim an important service in so far as he has revealed what would otherwise have remained hidden for a long time. Indeed, the insult shows the general opinion of other people. In short, thorough reflection makes sure that the so-called victim does not feel victimized at all. Far from being offended and, as a result, carried away by his emotions into launching a quick and vehement counter-attack, he remains completely untouched by what was meant to be a direct verbal assault. As a consequence, the aggressor will soon be disappointed and give up: just as one is unable to insult a rock, so it is impossible to insult a detached person who has been trained to maintain his mental peace.⁴⁹

Argumentation and Imagination

It has become clear by now that Drexel's intentions as an emblem author are exhortatory and therapeutic rather than didactic. As I have demonstrated, the analysis of a vicious 'tongue' can take the form of a strict line of reasoning which is aimed at eradicating false opinions and replacing them with true insights. However, this is just one element of a broader rhetorical strategy which can best be described as paraenetic. It is a strategy that implies non-discursive means of persuasion as well. In order to better inculcate his moral

⁴⁸ I, 11, 247: 'Memento, inquit, non eum qui convicietur aut verberet, auctorem esse contumeliae, sed opinionem, de eis tanquam contumeliosis conceptam. Cum igitur te quispiam irritat, opinione tuâ te irritatum esse scito. Quapropter in primis operam dato, ne visa tibi assensum extorqueant. Nam si semel tempus & moram impetraris, facilius ipse tibi imperabis'. Drexel erroneously quotes Epictetus, *Manuale*, c. 27. The passage is to be found in chapter 20. English translation by W. A. Oldfather in Loeb Classical Library (London - Cambridge, Mass., 1928).

⁴⁹ I, 11, 247-252.

lessons in his readers' minds, Drexel consciously taps their powers of imagination. This explains why he frequently makes use of comparisons and images which illustrate in a quite vivid manner various relevant aspects of sinful speech. Thus, in chapter sixteen on detraction, the author provides a long list of similes likening the detractor to various animals. A detractor is like a dog, Drexel says, that sinks its teeth into its prey and does not let loose until it has eaten away all the flesh. By the same token, a detractor can rightly be called a beetle that feeds on other animals' excrements or a pig that runs around in the forest, not looking for flowers to eat but rather for some mud in which it can wallow. A detractor is like a leech lavishly sucking the blood of its 'host', or a wolf dwelling in graveyards, not afraid to dig up recently buried corpses. First and foremost, however, a detractor is to be compared to a snake which avoids open confrontations, preferring to attack secretly. Similarly, just as a single bite of a snake can be lethal, so a detractor needs only a few words to destroy someone's reputation.⁵⁰

All these similes could easily have been turned into emblematic images, as has been done with similar comparisons in other chapters of the book. As a rule, Drexel draws up a long list of similes but only selects one striking comparison that serves as the basis for the emblematic *pictura* to be executed by Philip or Raphael Sadeler Junior. In the discussion of verbal abuse, Drexel preferred to visualize an eagle symbolizing the wise man who, self-contained and detached, maintains his mental calm when being insulted by wicked men. It is an eagle of an exceptional nature:

In order to visualize their contempt for insults, the ancients painted an eagle with eyes that did not threaten, with a beak that did not terrify, with folded wings, and with inoffensive claws. Seeking no quarry, it sat down, immobile, quiet, and composed. Next to the eagle they placed a crow, a restless and garrulous bird that seemed to provoke and make a clamor with its beak and wings. Therefore, dear Christian, be like the eagle that despises loquacious little crows. Let the fools caw, but keep your peace. Even though railers babble, they will not irritate the eagle. He answers best to insults who obliterates them with silence.⁵¹

⁵⁰ I, 17, 355-366.

⁵¹ I, 11, 253: 'Prisci ut hunc conviciorum contemptum oculis spectandum exhiberent, Aquilam pinxerunt non oculis minacem, non rostro terribilem, non alis volantem, non unguibus fulminantem, nec praedas quaerentem, sed immobili quiete considentem: huic cornicem adstiterunt avem inquietam & garrulam, quae laccessere videretur & obstrepere rostro ac pennis. Ergo, mi Christiane, vide, si Aquila, & loquaces corniculas contemne: permittit cornicari ineptos, tu tuam quietem tuere: quicquid conviciatores garriant, Aquilam non irritabunt. Convicijs optime

The eagle and the crow occupy just a small place in the *pictura* which in fact presents three unrelated scenes indicated by the letters 'A', 'B' and 'C', respectively (figure 2). In the forefront, we see a brass ox containing a man who is being cooked inside it (scene 'A'). The image refers to a story which was recounted time and again in ancient times. It is about Perillus who invented a new form of torture for the Sicilian tyrant Phalaris: he made a bull, 'guaranteeing that if a man were shut up inside it and a fire lit underneath, the man would do the bellowing'.⁵² As the screaming of the man inside would sound so natural, he would be unable to move Phalaris to pity. The image is emblematic and symbolizes ill counsel ('consilium malum'). For the man inside the bull is none other than Perillus himself; he was the first one to experience the torture he invented. In the upper right corner, we see two men engaged in what seems to be a fierce dispute (scene 'B'). The image is derived from a story recounted by Hieronymus Cardanus in his *De rerum varietate*⁵³ and exemplifies in a non-emblematic way the quarrelsome tongue ('lingua contentiosa'). In the upper left corner, we find our two birds – the provocative crow and the imperturbable eagle – which refer to insulting ('lingua convicians'; scene 'C').

Not all the illustrations made by Philip and Raphael Sadeler Junior are emblematic. A number of engravings simply illustrate a biblical story recounted by Drexel. This is for instance the case with plate 'E' which depicts Adam and Eve. Adam points his finger at Eve, blaming her for the transgression committed, whereas Eve points to the serpent twisted around the apple tree. In his commentary to the engraving, Drexel states that 'this is the origin and nature of the tongue that finds excuses'.⁵⁴ Sometimes, a non-emblematic image is combined with an emblematic one. This is not only the case with plate 'C' but also with engraving 'D' which represents a number of boys who are devoured by bears. This part of the engraving visualizes in a non-emblematic way the biblical story of the forty-two boys who jeered at Elisha, the bald prophet, and were horribly punished by God.⁵⁵ The main figure on the plate, however, is Godfrey of Bouillon. While laying siege to the city of Jerusalem, he shot an arrow towards the tower of David and almost

respondet, qui ea obliterat silentio'. Translation by James Latham. Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, 3, 3, 18: 'Aquilam comix provocat'.

⁵² Plinius Maior, *Nat. Hist.*, 34, 8, 89; cf. Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, 9, 2 (ext.).

⁵³ *De rerum varietate* (Basel, 1557) lib. 11, cap. 53. This part of the *pictura* has been overlooked by Breidenbach, *Der Emblematiker Jeremias Drexel*, 227-228.

⁵⁴ I, 403: 'Haec excusantis linguae origo, hoc eius ingenium est'.

⁵⁵ II Kings 2: 23-24.

simultaneously transfixed three birds (figure 3). The image is emblematic and symbolizes the three ways in which the slanderous tongue ('lingua detrahens') wounds. According to Drexel, 'it injures the person whose reputation is damaged; it harms the benevolent listener; and, finally, it wounds the detractor himself'.⁵⁶ Drexel borrowed the story and its visual representation from Claude Paradin's *Heroica symbola*, as he indicated in a footnote. In fact, this is one of the two cases in which the Jesuit author explicitly refers to an emblem book which served as a source of inspiration.⁵⁷ It should be added, however, that the moral application to the slanderous tongue is entirely his own. Paradin only commemorated the amazing event in order to explain the coat of arms of the Lotharingian clan.⁵⁸

As we have seen, plate 'D' contains two scenes representing two 'tongues' which are somewhat related to each other ('detractio' and 'derisio'). In plate 'C', on the contrary, the *pictura* contains three scenes, each of which represents a separate 'tongue' that simply happens to begin with the letter 'C' ('consilium malum' – 'lingua contentiosa' – 'lingua convicians'); apart from that, there is no connection between the images (and the tongues symbolized) at all. Even on the level of composition, the engraving strikes us as fairly unbalanced. From this point of view, the *picturae* in *Orbis Phaëthon* are quite different from the complex (non-emblematic) illustrations in Hieronymus Natalis's *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia*, a work which Drexel knew and from which he drew some inspiration.

Natalis's 'bible', as it has been labeled, was published posthumously in Antwerp in 1594-1595. It is deeply rooted in Ignatian spirituality and exerted a strong influence on Jesuit devotional literature.⁵⁹ The illustrations, executed by the Wiericx brothers, show various episodes from the gospels, accompanied by explanatory notes and pious meditations. This basic structure was taken over

⁵⁶ I, 259: 'Detrahens lingua semper tres laedit. Primo eum cui detrahitur, deinde detractiois auditorem benevolum, tertio detractorem ipsum'.

⁵⁷ In his discussion of the ostentatious tongue ('lingua ostentatrix'), Drexel likewise refers to Paradin's emblem book (II, 12, 228).

⁵⁸ Claude Paradin, *Heroica [...] symbola* (Antwerp, 1567) 39. Cf. *Orbis Phaëthon*, I, 15, 3, 326. It is interesting to note that Antonius a Burgundia used the emblematic *pictura* of Godfrey of Bouillon to explain and denounce the detrimental effects of 'calunnia' rather than 'detractio'. Cf. my edition *Linguae vitia et remedia* (Antwerp, 1631), with an introduction [Imago Figurata. Editions, vol. 1.] (Turnhout, 1999) 146 (II. 44, 186-187).

⁵⁹ See for example Pierre-Antoine Fabre, *Ignace de Loyola, le lieu de l'image. Le problème de la composition de lieu dans les pratiques spirituelles et artistiques jésuites de la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle* [Contextes] (Paris, 1992) 263-295 and Manuel Insolera - Lydia Salviucci Insolera, 'La spiritualité en images aux Pays-Bas Méridionaux dans les livres imprimés des XVIe et XVIIe siècles conservés à la Bibliotheca Wittrockiana', *Miscellanea Neerlandica*, 13 (Leuven, 1996) 135-141.

by Drexel with some modifications. Drexel, too, added brief explanations of the various scenes depicted by means of notes referring to the letters engraved on the *picturae*. However, the explanatory notes are not limited to an identification of the *res pictae*, but also reveal their emblematic meaning (the tongue represented) and contain a reference to the passage in the following chapters where the image is explained in more detail. Moreover, the letters do not tie the various scenes together to lend them a strong narrative unity, like the illustrations in Natalis's 'bible'.

Contrary to the *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia*, Drexel's *Orbis Phaëthon* does not only contain engravings which simply visualize biblical (or profane) stories, but also confront the 'reader-spectator' with emblematic, more or less enigmatic images which stimulate his imagination and whose deeper meaning is only gradually unfolded in the course of the following chapters. The brief notes attached to each engraving can be said to have a mnemonic function in so far as they summarize, but do not fully explain the moral message underlying the *pictura*. It is a combination of word and image that was already adopted in the devotional works composed by Joannes David, a Jesuit author who appears to have been an important source of inspiration for Drexel.⁶⁰

Not unlike the emblematic illustrations in David's works, the engravings in the *Orbis Phaëthon* serve as an initial stimulus for the reader to absorb and ponder the moral message conveyed by the author. As such, they are crucial to the 'spiritual exercise' the reader is invited to make. For although the *Orbis Phaëthon* occupies a somewhat special place in Drexel's vast oeuvre in that it is moralizing rather than devotional, there is no denying that its ultimate purpose was to provide readers with a meditative therapy that would enable them to cure their passions and mental disturbances by using their own power of imagination and reflection. *Orbis Phaëthon* is a book of meditation far more than a manual for good behavior — a feature clearly emphasized by the fact that many chapters end in an incantation or a prayer to God which the reader is explicitly asked to imitate. By leaving out the engravings that traditionally adorned the twenty-three chapters of Drexel's emblem book when he composed his standard edition of 1643, Petrus de Vos mutilated the work and drastically altered its nature and scope. What had originally been conceived as an emblem book based on rhetorical and meditative principles well-established in the Jesuit order, was now turned into a mere commonplace book that lent itself all too easily to exploitation by preachers and catechizers who were looking for material to compose their own sermons and lessons. The

⁶⁰ Cf. Breidenbach, *Der Emblematiker Jeremias Drexel*, 310-314. On the illustrations in David's works, see Insolera and Salviucci-Insolera, 'La spiritualité en images', 141-147.

new edition, with its numerous and detailed indices, erased some of the most interesting features of the *Orbis Phaëthon*. Yet, it also ensured that the work would have a long afterlife whose richness we can hardly fathom today. For many of the considerations, telling anecdotes or striking comparisons inserted by Drexel into his emblem book were from that time on incorporated in sermons and exhortations that were often as ephemeral as the voice of the preacher who delivered them.

Appendix 1: The ‘Tongues’ Discussed by Drexel in his *Orbis Phaëthon*

Adulatio

Lingua bacchea

Lingua bombilans

Lingua blaesa

Lingua bifida

Blasphemia

Lingua male consulens

Lingua contentiosa

Lingua convicians

Derisio

Detractio

Excusatio

Exprobratio

Lingua fraudulenta

Lingua fallax

Lingua fucata

Lingua garrula

Lingua hyperbolica

Lingua hypocritica

Lingua imprudens

Lingua male imprecans

Lingua iurans

Kalumniā

Lingua lasciva

Mendacium

Lingua mordax

Lingua murmurans

Lingua nugigerula

Lingua otiosa

Lingua obiurgans

Lingua ostentatrix
Lingua politica
Lingua temere promittens
Lingua querula
Lingua revelans secreti
Lingua scurrilis
Lingua subsannans
Lingua suspendens
Lingua susurronum
Lingua tumultuosa
Lingua turpiloqua
Lingua vindicans
Lingua vituperans

Appendix 2: The ‘Tongues’ Discussed by Pelecyus in his *Universitas iniquitatis*

Mala adulationis
Mala ambitionis
Mala blasphemiae
Mala calumniae
Mala consilii pravi
Mala contumeliae
Mala curiositatis
Mala derisionis
Mala detractionis
Mala excusationis malae
Mala fraudis
Mala garrulitatis
Mala haeresis
Hypocrisis mala
Mala iactantiae
Mala imprecationis malae
Mala imprudentiae
Mala lasciviae in loquendo
Maleficii mala
Mala mendacii
Mala murmurationis
Mala nugarum
Mala verborum otiosorum

Mala periurii
 Mala querimoniarum malarum
 Mala rixarum
 Mala revelationis secretorum
 Severitas nimia in loquendo
 Mala taciturnitatis malae
 Mala impugnationis agnitae Veritatis Fidei

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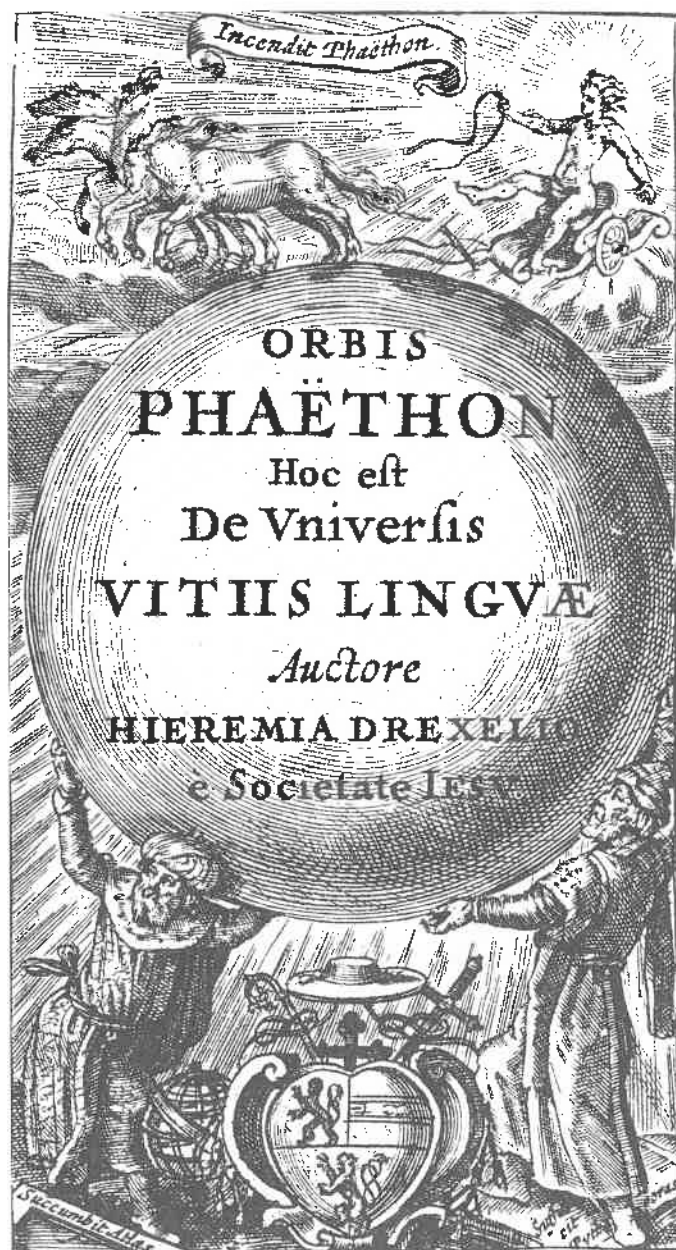
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COLONIÆ, Apud Cornel. ab Ecomond 1631.

Figure 1: J. Drexel, *Orbis Phaëthon* (Cologne, 1631) title page.



Figure 2: J. Drexel, *Orbis Phaëthon* (Cologne, 1631) Plate C.



Figure 3: J. Drexel, *Orbis Phaëthon* (Cologne, 1631) Plate D.

Herman Hugo's *Pia Desideria*

G. RICHARD DIMLER

The enormous success of Herman Hugo's *Pia desideria* both on the Continent and in England is an acknowledged fact. The *Pia desideria* was one of the most popular books of the seventeenth century, with its numerous editions and reprints. Its popularity was so great that it was translated into English by an Anglican priest, Edmund Arwaker. This English translation was entitled: *Pia desideria, Or Divines Addresses, in Three Books and Francis Quarles's Emblemes*.¹ According to the latest figures from the Union Catalogue of Emblem Books (UCAT) there are 150 editions and translations of Hugo's *Pia desideria*, which makes it the most widely published of any known emblem book produced in the seventeenth century.² Of these 150 editions there are 48 editions in Latin, 44 in German, 14 in Dutch, 5 in English, 18 in French, 3 in Italian, 9 in Polish, 2 in Portuguese, 3 in Russian, 3 in Spanish and 1 in Danish (cf. appendix). Although Georgette de Montenay's Protestant emblem book *Emblemes ou Devises Chrestiennes* (Lyons, 1571) is usually referred to as the first religious emblem book, it was the Jesuit Hugo's book, which had the greatest impact on the Continent and in Protestant England.

Herman Hugo was born to Willem Hugo and Katrine Lemau in Brussels on the ninth of April 1588.³ He lived in the parish of St. Nicholas church where he also attended school. Before entering the Jesuits he had five years of secondary education which included the study of philosophy and theology.

¹ Cf. G. Richard Dimler, S.J., 'Arwaker's Translation of the *Pia desideria*: The Reception of a Continental Jesuit Emblem Book in Seventeenth-Century England', in: Peter M. Daly (ed.), *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition* (New York, 1988) 203-225.

² Part 3 of the *Corpus Librorum Emblematicum the Jesuit Series* edited by Peter M. Daly and G. Richard Dimler, S.J. is in press at the University of Toronto and will list the Hugo editions and translations.

³ Mark Carter Leach, 'The Literary and Emblematic Activity of Hermann Hugo, S.J. (1588-1629)' [Diss. Univ. of Delaware, 1979] (Ann Arbor, 1979) 1-19; Gabriele Dorothea Rödter, *Via pia animae. Grundlagenuntersuchung zur emblematischen Verknüpfung von Bild und Wort in den 'Pia desideria' (1624) des Herman Hugo S.J. (1588-1629)* [Mikrokosmos, 32] (Frankfurt on the Main, 1992) 22-24; Ludwig Koch, *Jesuiten-Lexikon. Die Gesellschaft Jesu einst und jetzt* (Paderborn, 1934) col. 531; *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* vol. 7, 858; Aloys De Backer, S.J. and Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus*, Première partie: Bibliographie, vols. 1-10 (Brussels-Paris, 1890-1910); Supplement edited by Ernest M. Riviere (Heverlee-Louvain, 1960 [reprint]) vol. IV, cols. 512-522; vol. IX, cols. 500-501 (=DBS); Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery* (Rome, 1964²) 83-85, 156-161; Adolf Spamer, *Das kleine Andachtsbild vom XIV. Bis zum XX. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1930) 143-147.

Hugo began the study of philosophy and theology at Louvain in 1602. He was an excellent student finishing fourth in a class of 118 where in addition he took his masters degree in 1604. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1605 at the novitiate in Tournai (Doornik) at which time the Hugo family gave a gift of 20 guilders to the Jesuit provincial. After taking his first vows in September of 1607 he went to Antwerp. The Jesuit college in Antwerp opened in 1608 one year after Hugo's arrival. The *Fama Postuma* supports the contention that he was professor of rhetoric in Antwerp from October, 1610 to September, 1611.⁴ During the years 1611-1612 he studied theology at Louvain under Cornelius a Lapide.

On the 13th of May, 1613 he was ordained a priest in Louvain and was appointed head of the philosophy section at the University of Louvain in 1614. He distinguished himself with his knowledge of philosophy, theology and languages and learned quickly how to get along with the nobility. In 1617 he completed his work in Louvain and then spent a year as prefect of studies in Brussels before completing his tertianship in Lier. Also in 1617 he published *De prima scribendi origine et universa rei literariae antiquitate*.⁵ In this book Hugo attempts to trace the history of written language down to the invention of printing based on the etymology of the Latin infinitive scribere. This book has been described as the first serious treatment of written language in the history of modern philology. In *De prima scribendi origine* Hugo also discusses the letters of the alphabet, paper, ink, the names of the letters and even cryptography. Marc Carter Leach argues that Hugo was the first modern scholar to make a serious appeal for the creation of a universal language.⁶

After completing his tertianship in 1618 Hugo served as prefect of studies in Brussels under Antoine Sucquet, his rector and a leading litterateur and emblematis in the southern Netherlands.⁷ In 1620 he published a 400 page refutation of the Calvinist Synod of Dordrecht, entitled the *De vera fide cappassenda* published in Antwerp. At this time it seems he also conceived the idea of composing the *Pia desideria* which he completed sometime in August of 1623.⁸ In March of 1621 Philip III of Spain died. Hugo was sent together with the Duke of Aerschot to Madrid to express the sympathy of the Flemish nobility. It was during this journey that most of the text of the *Pia desideria* was written.⁹ Later in 1623 he became chaplain of the Spanish armies in the

⁴ DBS I, 447, 3.

⁵ DBS IV, 512, 3.

⁶ Leach, *Literary and Emblematic Activity*, 64.

⁷ *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 14, cols. 1286-1290.

⁸ Leach, *Literary and Emblematic Activity*, 127.

⁹ The first edition of the *Pia desideria emblematis elegiis & affectibus [...]* appeared in Antwerp in 1624 published by Hendrick Aertssens and plates by Boetius a Bolswert.

southern Netherlands, who were under the command of Ambrogio Spinola. He was also named Spinola's confessor and at the siege of Breda (1624-1625) was head chaplain among the ten Jesuit chaplains working there. Hugo describes the events surrounding this siege in the *Obsidio Bredana* whose title-page was illustrated by Rubens.¹⁰

With his reputation enhanced as a historian at the siege of Breda and as chaplain to the army, Hugo traveled in the highest political circles in Flanders. He was advisor to the papal nuncio as well as to Spinola.¹¹ Because of his many secular contacts with personages of high standing the Jesuit General, Mutius Vitelleschi admonished Hugo. Apparently the Jesuit superior felt Hugo was not living according to the standards of Jesuit common life and religious poverty. There is speculation that Hugo was confessor to the Duke of Egmont during his trip to Spain in the years 1625 until June, 1626. In his latter years Hugo translated into Latin the life of the Jesuit Saint John Berchmans and wrote a history of equestrian and naval warfare.¹² In February of 1628 Hugo was in Mainz helping to straighten out Jesuit affairs in the Palatinate. Because of his failing health he could not comply with the directive of the Jesuit General and the Spanish king to lecture on military affairs at the Royal Academy founded by Philip IV. Nevertheless he served as military chaplain during the deteriorating military situation in the Netherlands. It was during this campaign that he contracted his fatal illness while attending to the sick. He died on September 11, 1629.

Hugo and the Emblematic Tradition

Though Hugo as a writer and college professor in the seventeenth century was undoubtedly attracted by the contemporary humanist preoccupation with enigmatic Egyptian hieroglyphics and the mythology of Greece and Rome, his emblem book reveals at least implicitly, as is to be expected from a Jesuit priest, the considerable influence of Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* (Rome, 1548), as does much seventeenth-century Catholic devotional literature.¹³ The studies by Mario Praz, Adolf Spamer, Mark Carter Leach, Karl Josef Höltgen and Gabriele Rödter have demonstrated that the *Pia desideria* clearly belongs to an important sub-genre of religious emblem literature: the

¹⁰ DBS IV, 520, 7.

¹¹ Leach, *Literary and Emblematic Activity*, 5.

¹² DBS IV, 521, 11.

¹³ Louis L. Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation* (New Haven, 1954) esp. 25-152.

meditational emblem book.¹⁴ The prime purpose of an emblem book such as Hugo's might be termed 'persuasive devotion'; i.e., through the emblem book the reader will come to know and converse with God and in Hugo's case with Anima serving as the inspirational surrogate and Amor divinus as the Divine Lover. Whether this devotional approach can be attributed solely to the influence of the classical tripartite Ignatian meditational structure (seeing, reflecting, and conversing) or memory, understanding and will, is somewhat problematical. It is difficult to prove that Hugo intentionally followed such a structural approach. That Hugo based his book on the classical three part 'mystical' structure describing the soul's progress toward union with God which consists of the purgative, illuminative and unitive paths and which derived from St. Bonaventure is likewise problematic. Whether this three-fold structure is as binding and influential in Hugo as some authors have suggested is open to discussion. We will discuss this further under the section on structure.

Praz and Spamer have made an important contribution in being the first to identify Otto Van Veen as the real progenitor of the *Pia desideria* with his *Amorum emblemata* and its 124 emblems engraved by Cornelis Boel written in 1608. In all there were four polyglot editions. Each of these four editions contains Van Veen's Latin verses in combination with verses in Dutch, Italian, French and English. All of the 124 oval emblems exhibit playful erotic conceits. For example, the emblem in the *Amorum emblemata*, 49, with the motto 'Via nulla est invia amori' ('No path is impassible for love') Cupid is crossing the sea with his bow for an oar, his bandage for a sail and his quiver for a boat. In Van Veen's emblem on 10, beneath the motto 'Grata belli causa' ('A pleasant cause for war') Eros and Anteros pull on a palm branch of love to show their attraction for one another; and in the Van Veen emblem on 32 with the motto 'Virtutis radix amor' ('Love the root of virtue') Anima shoots an arrow at Hercules.¹⁵ In these emblems Cupid cavorts in a seemingly erotic heaven. This cupid figure in Van Veen has at least a remote influence on the Anima figure in the *Pia desideria*.

In the *Amoris divini emblemata* of 1615 Van Veen transforms Cupid and Psyche into pious figures.¹⁶ This desire to write on a religious theme seemed to be the result of a suggestion of Archduchess Isabella to whom Van Veen

¹⁴ Karl Josef Hölzgen, *Francis Quarles 1592-1644. Meditativer Dichter, Emblematiker, Royalist. Eine biographische und kritische Studie* (Tübingen, 1978) 205 and *Aspects of the Emblem* (Kassel, 1986) 49.

¹⁵ Arthur Henkel und Albrecht Schöne (eds.), *Emblemata Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. Und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1978) cols. 201, 1648 and 1763.

¹⁶ Praz, *Studies*, 134; Spamer, *Andachtsbild*, 130.

dedicated the second work. He apologized to her for the overt worldliness of his earlier book ascribing it to his youthful state.¹⁷

In this new religious emblem work Van Veen replaces Ovid with Augustine and the erotic, sensually explicit limpid bowers become craggy landscapes. For example, the emblem in the *Amorum emblemata* picturing Eros and Anteros struggling for the palm of victory has undergone a radical change. A superficial glance at emblem 31 in the *Amoris divini emblemata* shows this change. The naked figures of Eros and Anteros are transformed into Amor divinus and Anima humana. Eros becomes Amor divinus and is now chastely dressed with a halo and angelic wings. Crucifixes, churches, arrows of divine love, skulls, rejection of earthly goods are now the dominant motifs. What Van Veen has done is to change the figures of Cupid and Psyche into pious, devotional figures for the purpose of showing the impact of divine love.

Jesuits were attracted to Egyptian hieroglyphics and the arcane, one need only recall the great Jesuit polymath, Athanasius Kircher's book on hieroglyphics, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*. In a somewhat radical change from other emblem books of the sixteenth century with their emphasis on natural symbols and signs, Hugo along with other Jesuit writers almost always seeks to bring out the moral and spiritual message of the emblem.¹⁸ Most of the leading Jesuit theorists of the emblem in the seventeenth century attest to this stress on the moral content and nature of the emblem. *E.g.* Claude-François Menestrier, Jakob Masen, Gabriel-François Le Jay, Silvestra Pietrasanta, although a theorist such as Jacob Masen disparages the emblem when it becomes too obvious. We see this moral and spiritual emphasis in the *Pia desideria* where Hugo attaches to each of his 46 illustrations quotes from sacred scripture. In contrast Van Veen's religious emblem book, *Amoris divini emblemata*, which retains the structure of his earlier book of love emblems, the *Amorum emblemata*, is based on the commonplace themes of love expressed through such classical symbolic figures as Psyche and Amor.¹⁹ Although the emblems in Hugo and Van Veen exhibit similarities, they differ quite radically. Structurally Van Veen stands in close proximity to what might be termed 'the Alciato tradition' where there is a more immediate connection between word and image or between *subscriptio* and *pictura*.

Moreover Alciato's themes unlike Hugo's are distinctly non-devotional and profane. In Alciato the *pictura* is no end in itself, but a mere illustration of the epigram. On the other hand Hugo stands within that tradition of illustrated devotional literature where the picture is not so much an end in itself as a means to an end, the stirring up of devotion and reflection in the reader. In Van

¹⁷ Leach, *Literary and Emblematic Activity*, 117.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 112-144.

¹⁹ Spamer, *Andachtsbild*, 143-146; Praz, *Studies*, 134-136.

Veen there seems to be no attempt to engage the reader in an extended reflection but merely to entertain and delight. On the other hand, the prose meditations which follow each elegy in Hugo tend to be more of a biblical discourse for which the emblem serves as the starting point, while in Van Veen the correlation between the word and image is more 'referential'; i.e., the reader is referred back from the accompanying text to the picture. Text and picture are more closely intertwined. In Van Veen the *subscriptio* is brief and succinct. In Hugo the distance between word and image is more pronounced. The word in Hugo primarily functions as an exemplum, a parable, or even a sermon extrapolated from the *pictura*. In like manner the prose quotations from the Church Fathers at the end of each emblem chapter take the form of a corroborative summary to the elegies.

Hugo's emblems at times can resemble scholastic theses with the copious citations and quotes from the Church Fathers that follow each elegy and which act somewhat like proofs to a syllogism. We find this syllogistic approach and structure in other Jesuit emblem writers. For example, Kreihing's application of rhetorical and logical principles to the emblem's form and structure is typical of this type of rhetoricized 17th century Jesuit emblem book. As proof of this rhetorical influence the emblems in the *Emblemata Ethico-Politica* noticeably follow the structural sequence of the classical *dispositio*.²⁰ The same holds true for Andres Mendo's *Principe Perfecto* (1662). The structure and logic of the emblem's meaning and application in Mendo resembles that of a rhetorical argument through the use of *enthymeme*.²¹

Two other Jesuit writers could also have been influential on the *Pia desideria*. First there are Jan David's *Veridicus christianus* published by the Plantin press in 1601 and the *Duodecim specula* (1610).²² The *Duodecim specula* has a dialogue structure similar to Hugo. It features conversations between Desiderius and Anima and could have been the basis for Hugo's conception and adoption of the Anima and Divine Love figures in addition to Van Veen. David like Hugo was a Jesuit from the same Flemish province of the Society coming from the same linguistic and cultural background.

²⁰ G. Richard Dimler, S.J. (ed.), Johannes Kreihing, *Emblematica Ethico Politica* (Antwerp 1661) [Imago Figurata Editions 2] (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999) 17-21 and my 'Rhetorical Principles in Emblems of Education in Johannes Kreihing's *Emblematica Ethico Politica*', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu* 65 (1996) 129-137.

²¹ Cf. My 'Emblems and Rhetoric: Syllogistic Examples from Andres Mendo's *Principe Perfecto* (1662)'. Talk given at IV Congreso Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Emblemática, Palma, Mallorca, October 3, 2001, and to be published in the proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of the Spanish Society of Emblematics.

²² *Corpus Librorum Emblematum. Jesuit Series I*, 158.

The second Jesuit author is Antoine Sucquet, the head of the Jesuit College in Brussels at the time Hugo was teaching there. He is known to have forwarded in 1623 a favorable report to the provincial censor, Hendrix Smeyers, in Rome about the *Pia desideria*. And since Hugo and Sucquet belonged to the same Jesuit community and worked together in the same college, it could well have been Sucquet's *Via vitae aeternae* of 1620,²³ which inspired Hugo to write the *Pia desideria*.²⁴ Sucquet's text like Hugo's has a basic three-fold division.

Lynette C. Black²⁵ argues that Hugo's work is more emotional and affective in its content and therefore less analytic and doctrinal than the books by the Jesuits Antoine Sucquet and Jan David.²⁶ Black discusses the French versions of Sucquet's *Via vitae aeternae* (1620) and compares it with Herman Hugo's *Pia desideria* (1624). Although Gabriele Rödter asserts that Hugo's *Pia desideria* adopts the structure of Sucquet's work and the tripartite 'mystical' way of purgation, illumination and union, Black holds that this point of comparison remains problematic since the two works share little structural similarity apart from their common tripartite division. Hugo's pattern of development is better accounted for by what Black terms the 'specific triple-way motifs' described in the outline for the triple way of meditation in the middle of book two of the *Via vitae aeternae*. Moreover according to Black Hugo emphasizes the three emotions associated with the triple way rather than the goals themselves. Whereas there is a high degree of interdependence of text and picture in Sucquet, Hugo takes the picture as the starting point for his poetic descriptions. Black concludes that in general Hugo 'exploits the features of meditation that address life in the world of the sense'.²⁷

Moreover, Hugo's work is more easily accessible to the reader than Sucquet because of the fluid relationship between picture and text. Thus the picture in Hugo lends itself more to the affective mode whereas the picture in Sucquet stresses more the intellective. All of this may be true but scholars must own up to the preponderant use of mythology and biblical references in Hugo's long elegies which tend to make the emotional response on the part of the reader less apt. For example, in emblem I, 1 we find references to Scythia, the Parrhasian Bear, Phoebus, the Cimmerian sky, Dis, Titan and Aurora. This type of elegy could well prove a stumbling block to the uneducated reader or one

²³ A. Sucquet, *Via vitae aeternae* (Antwerp: Martin Nutius, 1620); cf. *DBS* VII, 1690, 1.

²⁴ Leach, *Literary and Emblematic Activity*, 127-130.

²⁵ 'Popular Devotional Emblems: A Comparison of Sucquet's *Le Chemin de la Vie Eternelle* and Hugo's *Les Pieux Desirs*', *Emblematica* 9 (1995) 1-20.

²⁶ For David's emblem books see Peter M. Daly and G. Richard Dimler, S.J. (eds.), *Corpus Librorum Emblematum. Jesuit Series. Part One (A-D)* (Montreal, 1997) 147-162.

²⁷ For the above discussion, cf. Black, 'Popular Devotional' esp. 3, 4 and 19.

interested primarily in seeking devotion to God. The heavy classical and academic content tends to impede assimilation into the very process Hugo propounds – union with God.

That Hugo was most fortunate in finding an engraver with the talents possessed by Bolswert cannot be overestimated. Bolswert's engravings from his workshop in Antwerp are probably the most refined and artistic of the counter-reformation period. Antwerp was the city where Van Veen, Bolswert and a host of other artists worked within the tradition of the devotional books of the counter-reformation. It was the Jesuits who propagandized and nurtured this tradition.²⁸ In the second half of the sixteenth century alone there were estimated to be 300 painters, engravers and woodcutters who emigrated south from the Netherlands and Paris. The secret of the success of the *Pia desideria* can be summed up in the combination of Hugo's literary genius with the artistic brilliance of an engraver like Bolswert. How much control Hugo exerted on Bolswert's illustrations is an intriguing question but difficult to assess.

Structure of the Pia desideria

Each illustration in the *Pia desideria* is accompanied by a quotation taken from sacred scripture. The quotation is situated directly beneath each of Bolswert's plates. The plate and quotation always occupy one page of text. In all, there are twenty two mottoes from the Psalms, thirteen from the *Canticles of Canticles*, five from the Book of Job and one each from Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Romans, and Philippians. There is in addition to the *pictura* and scriptural motto, a Latin poem or *subscriptio*, which can extend to two or even three pages. The *subscriptio* always begins on the following page with the same scriptural quote repeated above. As mentioned above, Hugo's elegies are quite different when compared with Van Veen's three to eight line epigrams. In some chapters of the *Pia desideria* they can extend well beyond fifty lines.

In further contrast to Van Veen, Hugo adds concluding considerations for the reader in prose. Each of these prose sections is preceded by the same initial scriptural quote beneath the *pictura* and repeated again on the following page before the elegy. The final prose sections likewise always begin on a new page. These prose sections can also extend over three to four pages in length, and contain numerous citations from the early Church Fathers. These serve to confirm Hugo's themes expounded in the *subscriptio*. As an example, the prose passages following the elegy in emblem I, 2, entitled 'Deus tu scis insipientiam meam' ('God you know my folly') contain citations from

²⁸ Spamer, *Andachtsbild* 125ff.

Augustine (*In spec. pec. cap. 8; Serm. 8 de Temp. cap. 5; Psalm 38; Epist. 119; Psalm 118; de peccat. cap. 89.*) *The Book of Proverbs cap. 30*), John Chrysostom (*Hom. 17 in Genesis 24; Hom. 41 in cap. 6. Joann.; Hom. 4 in Joan.; Psalm 43; Hom. 55 ad pop. Antioch.; Hom. 4 in 1 ad Corinth. cap. 1; Hom. in Psalm. 4*); and one each from Origen (*In Psalm. 37*); Basil (*Hom. 1 in Psalm. 37*); and Ambrose (*in Psalm. 118*). What follows are two citations from Chrysostom which emphasize the folly of sin. 'Nothing is worse than sin; it makes fools of those who previously had been generously endowed with wisdom and with intellect';²⁹ 'And certainly all evil proceeds from folly, if indeed a proud and angry man is consumed with these feelings (since they lack wisdom). Thus speaks the Prophet: There is no health in my flesh, due to my foolishness,' which demonstrates that all sin arises from folly. For whoever zealously pursues virtue and whoever fears God is the wisest of men. The beginning of wisdom, he said, is dread of the Lord. And if this be true, whoever lacks this true wisdom is the most foolish indeed'.³⁰ The prose citations function as proofs to a thesis or as confirmation of an argument.

That the composition of the *Pia desideria* is based substantially on Sucquet's *Via vitae aeternae* as Rödter maintains is somewhat open to discussion.³¹ Both seem to follow the classical threefold 'mystical' way of perfection (*via purgativa*, *via illuminativa* and *via unitiva*). But it is doubtful whether this threefold 'mystical' structure – which would mean that book one would represent the *via purgativa*, book two the *via illuminativa* and book three the *via unitiva* – really holds true for Hugo. For example, in emblem II, 10, with its motto from the *Canticle of Canticles* and the bridal motifs, seems more suited to the unitive way. Even Bolswert's engraving contains all the accoutrements of the unitive way: the bridle bed, lamp, and bed overhang. Emblem II, 4 with its strong emphasis on the fear of sin where Amor divinus is hurling thunderbolts at a cowering Anima belongs more appropriately to the purgative way of book I. In her final colloquy Anima cries out: 'Therefore, Lord, transfix my flesh with dread of you. I need to fear this sting, lest I fall into sin. Dread before sin is effective for he who controls the reins and he who fears only after the sin is committed, fears too late'.³² The threefold 'mystical'

²⁹ 'Nihil peccato pejus; insipientes facit eos, qui antea intellectu, et sapientia multa praediti fuerant' (*Hom. 17 in Genes. 24*).

³⁰ 'Et certe malitia omnis ex stultitia oritur; siquidem superbus et iracundus (quoniam sapientia carent) his affectibus absumuntur ideo inquit Propheta: *Non est sanitas in carne mea a facie insipientiae* meae: ut omne peccatum e stultitia ortum habere demonstret: nam qui virtuti studet, qui Deum timet, is sapientissimus est. *Initium*, inquit, *sapientiae timor Domini*. Quod si ita est, malus, qui Dei timorem non habet, sine dubio non est sapiens. Qui hac vera caret sapientia; stultissimus est' (*Hom. 41. in cap. 1 Joann.*).

³¹ Rödter, *Via pia animae*, 27.

³² 'O Deus! O confige tuo mihi corda timore!

divisions certainly do not hold in the strict sense and at best manifest a more generalized thematic approach in Hugo.

Hugo and Sucquet do show certain superficial similarities, but Hugo's text is decidedly shorter than Sucquet's and Hugo's structure fits much more closely to the classical emblematic *pictura-motto-subscriptio* alignment. Sucquet whose influence on the *Pia desideria* is yet to be fully assessed divides the *Via vitae aeternae* into three books: the 'Via incipientium', 'Via proficientium' and the 'Via perfectorum'. This configuration corresponds in general to the traditional tripartite division of the *via purgativa*, *via illuminativa* and *via unitiva*. This configuration is actually based on Bonaventure's *De triplici via* written around 1250. Hugo's book likewise has three divisions: 'Gemitus animae poenitentis', 'Desideria animae sanctae' and 'Suspiria animae amantis'. Sucquet begins each emblem with an illustration by Bolswert. However, unlike Hugo Sucquet's illustrations contain lettered symbols which we find in other Jesuits emblem books as well: most notably in Nadal's *Evangelicae Historicae Imagines* and in Jan David's *Duodecim specula*.³³ Bolswert has given the plates in the *Pia desideria* a much simpler design and technique than those in Sucquet. Furthermore, Sucquet's meditations are replete with emotional outpourings or 'iaculatoriae' based on the Psalms, Job, the prophets, Deuteronomy and so forth. In the *Pia desideria* these emotional expressions of grief and torment are balanced by many references to classical writers and mythology. This gives Hugo's book a more academic scholarly flavor. But even there scholarly allusions are always subordinate to the final aim in the *Pia desideria*, devotion and love of God.

The most innovative and comprehensive approach to an analysis of the *Pia desideria*'s structure to date is that of Rödter, *Via piaae animae*. In analyzing the overall structure of the *Pia desideria* she has chosen five chapters.³⁴ She holds that emblem III, 4 'Ego dilecto meo, et ad me conversio ejus' ('I belong to my love, and his desire is for me'; Cant. 7) provides an exemplary analysis of Jesuit devotion in the seventeenth century by reason of the presence of two of the most prominent *res pictae* of the baroque: the sunflower and compass. Emblem II, 14 'Sub umbra illius, quem desideraveram, sedi' ('I sat under the shade of him whom I have desired'; Cant. 2) centers around the Cross, which is the center of Christian belief. In emblem I, 1 'Anima mea desideravit te in nocte' ('My soul desired you in the

Ne peccem furor hac cuspidē noster eget.
 Utilis ante seclūs Timor est qui frēna gubernet
 Qui timet, admissō crimine, sero timet'.

³³ Jeronimo Nadal, *Adnotationes et meditationes in evangelia* (Antwerp: Martin Mutius, 1594); Jan David, *Duodecim specula* (Antwerp: Jan Moretus, 1610).

³⁴ Cf. my review in *Emblematica* 7 (1993) 169-177.

night'; Isaiah 26) the question is posed 'From Whence?' where Rödter discusses the night-motif and the distress of humanity at the end time. Emblem II, 11 'Surgam, et circuibo civitatem [...]' ('I will arise and go around the city [...]; Cant. 3) asks the question 'Whereto?' on the basis of the soul's thirst for Zion and for the presence of God. Rödter has chosen for her fifth emblem the introductory chapter of the *Pia desideria*, 'Domine ante te omne desiderium meum, et gemitus meus a te non est absconditus' ('Lord, for you is all my desire and my sigh is not hidden from you'; Psalm 37) asking the question 'How?' against the background of man's self-revelation in the presence of God. According to Rödter the arrow and bow motifs present in the introductory emblem reveal programmatically the two basic themes in Hugo: the soul's mystical way to salvation and the contemporary self-understanding of man and world as the interplay between substance and appearance.

This analysis of the *Pia desideria* and Anima in her search for God poses three fundamental questions: 'Whence', 'Whither' and 'How?' Rödter maintains that these five chapters help reveal Hugo's specific emblematic narrative form within the context of the soul's mystical journey to salvation, i.e. the so-called threefold mystical progression of the soul towards ultimate union with God through the purgative, illuminative and unitive ways.

However, Rödter's statement that the structure of the *Pia desideria* is based in detail on Sucquet's *Via vitae aeternae* with its threefold devotional structure is questionable (cf. above). The threefold division certainly is not a rigid one but is merely a more generalized thematic approach in Hugo. And if we look at the basic meanings of the Latin terms: 'Gemitus', 'Vota' and 'Suspiria' there is a decided fluidity in meaning. 'Gemitus' according to the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* is an inarticulate utterance expressing pain, sorrow and groaning. 'Votum' is an offering, a prayer, a desire, hope or wish. 'Suspirium' means a sigh expressing longing and anguish. These emotions do not correspond to the three ways some authorities suggest.

Of particular interest is Rödter's analysis of Hugo's *subscriptiones* or elegies. She sees an 'ordo naturalis' progression within each elegy based on the rhetorical use of *dispositio*, *exordium*, *narratio*, *argumentatio* and *peroratio*. Actually classical rhetoric would add *confirmatio* and *confutatio*. Rödter sees a close parallel between this rhetorical *ordo naturalis* and Hugo's meditative structure. Hugo wants to move the reader to the love of God through imitation of the soul whom he addresses in the first person. The structure of each elegy is based on this rhetorical *ordo naturalis*.

In analyzing the structure of Hugo's emblems we would rather interpret the rhetorical arrangement or *dispositio* as follows. This arrangement allows for the integration of the *pictura* with the entirety of the emblem. We interpret the *pictura* and scriptural quotation in Hugo's case as the *exordium*. The aim of

the *exordium* is to capture the audience's interest while at the same time introducing the theme. From the viewpoint of the emblem's reception by the reader, it is the picture that first claims attention. The *pictura* can therefore be taken as the initial visual and spatial embodiment of the *res significans* alluded to in the mottoes. The first part of the *subscriptio* following the *pictura* usually consists of a *narratio* and *expositio*. The *narratio*, the second part of the seven-part classical *dispositio* describes the problem at hand and gives the reader or audience background information on the proposal or the thesis. Likewise the function of the *expositio* is to define terms and reveal the issues, which are to be considered. In the *argumentatio* the poet offers substantiation for the initial proposal in the elegy and finally there is the *peroratio* or summing up of the emblem's statement.

Let us now apply this rhetorical *dispositio* to an emblem in Hugo. The introductory emblem preceding book I of the *Pia desideria* is a good example particularly since it contains numerous references to the threefold thematic of the entire book: 'gemitus', 'vota', 'suspria' ('groans', 'desires' and 'sighs'). The picture with Anima and an arrow emanating from her breast as she gazes upward to the bright cloud with another three arrows penetrating toward the divinity and with mask cast alongside serves as the *exordium*. It captures our attention immediately along with the scriptural citation: 'Lord, all that I long for is known to you, my sighing is no secret from you'.³⁵ Anima now begins her *narratio* and *expositio* in verses 1-12. She speaks of her anxieties, her mental turmoil and how these are secrets buried deep within her. Her groans ('gemitus'), her sighs ('suspria'), her desire ('vota') for understanding demonstrate her realization that only her beloved can understand these innermost secrets. These latter emotions of desire, yearning and sighing continue throughout the three books to follow. In lines 13 to 36 her *argumentatio* includes references to Rachel, to Proteus and to Roscius as additional examples of groaning, wishing and longful sighing. Rachel like Anima stopped weeping when she realized it availed nothing. Anima is also like Proteus, the servant of Poseidon, who has the power to take all manner of shapes. When she weeps, she is really laughing and when she is laughing she is really crying. She has cast aside her mask in the *pictura* like the famous Roman actor Roscius.³⁶ In a final peroration Anima cries out that no one

³⁵ 'Domine ante te omne desiderium meum, et gemitus meus a te non est absconditus' (Psalm 37).

³⁶ 'O quoties fictas animus gerit histrio partes,
Et pugnant animo fronsque oculusque.
Dum gemit patitur tragicos mens personata cothurnos,
Saepius in mimo Roscius ore salit'.

knows her groans, her desires, her sighs. The only one who knows is Amor divinus.³⁷

The structure of Hugo's emblems can also be analyzed along the lines of what Ignatius suggests for meditation in the first week of the *Exercises*. For example in the introductory emblem just considered the picture and scriptural quote would comprise the Ignatian composition of place. Ignatius calls this a mental image of the place. One sees with the mind's eye the physical place where the object to be contemplated is present. There follows the consideration or the use of the memory, intellect and will. This consideration would extend from lines 11-34. In these lines Anima recalls with her use of memory how only Amor divinus is able to empathize with her tribulation. She then recalls in detail further aspects of her sorrow. She does this with what Ignatius would term the intellect by considering and pondering her plight in detail. Rachel's sorrow would serve as a template for her suffering. Roscius's acting ability enables him to hide his suffering behind a smile and finally Proteus hides behind his mask like Anima. Finally the will comes into play moving Anima to express her emotions and affections in a final colloquy in lines 37-39. The Ignatian colloquy is made as a friend speaking to another or in this case as lover to lover. This is precisely what Anima does when she exclaims in a final burst of emotion: 'No one knows my groans, my desires and sighs; no one only you and I and we are sufficient for one another'.

Rödter also sees the considerable influence of Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* on Hugo and in particular the Ignatian practice of the exercitant's employing the three powers of the soul: memory, intellect and will. She maintains that Ignatius used this procedure in each of his meditations. Rödter also asserts that Ignatius got this practice of the three powers of the soul directly or indirectly through Wessel Gansfort's *Scala meditationis* (published in the early 14th century and placed on the *Index* in 1592) by way of Johann Mauburnus' *Rosetum* (1494). Rödter sees significant parallels between the structure of Gansfort's *Scala* and Hugo elegies.³⁸ Despite what Rödter states about the Ignatian use of the three powers of the soul in each meditation and their derivation from Gansfort, one of the leading authorities on Ignatian spirituality, Joseph de Guibert, maintains that Ignatius took the three power approach from Bonaventure's *De triplici via* and Ramon Lull's *Art of Contemplation*.³⁹ This three-fold method of meditation is not the peculiar and exclusive type made according to the *Spiritual Exercises* nor is it assigned any

³⁷ 'Nemo meos Gemitus, Vota aut Suspiria novit;
Nemo, duo nisi nos, et duo sufficimus'.

³⁸ Rödter, *Via piae animae*, 86-89.

³⁹ Joseph de Guibert, S.J. (translated by William J. Young and edited by George E. Ganss), *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine And Practice; A Historical Study* (Chicago, 1964) 159-169.

determined place in the course of the *Exercises*. It is one among several types of meditational practices proposed by Ignatius.⁴⁰ Actually the method of the three faculties is proposed only for the first week of the *Exercises*.⁴¹

These analyses and interpretations are for the most part enlightening and could serve as a commendable model for an approach to Hugo. However, there is another possible sequence based on five chapters in Hugo which I believe adhere more strictly to his three-fold division and to the principles of Ignatian spirituality which he surely absorbed as a Jesuit.

1. Throughout Hugo's introductory emblem (fol. **7r.-v.) the soul sighs and weeps and only God hears her desire for wholeness. This emblem signals the beginning of the soul's journey.

2. Emblem I, 4: Anima is seen yoked to a millstone in a seventeenth century mill and is being whipped by Divine Love with her eyes blindfolded. Seemingly only the whips of Divine Love can guide her correctly along the way. Through his admonitions she learns the Divine Will.

3. Emblem II, 1: The soul contemplates her choice between heavenly love (the commandments) and earthly love (the liberty cap). The former leads to life; the latter to death.

4. Emblem III, 4: The soul is drawn to her bridegroom who appears as the Sun dispelling darkness as the compass and sunflower. The journey to union is illuminated with His face. She is attracted to him like a magnet.

5. Emblem III, 11: The soul's thirst for union is like the deer's thirst for water; Anima experiences integration and casts aside all distractions in the final colloquy in order to be at the source of life. In a burst of joy at her final integration she cries out that the snakes of hell in the black waters of hell disappear and that she thirsts for the heavenly waters like the deer thirsts for the waters of the bubbling spring. We will discuss four of these emblems below in greater detail under the section 'Word and Image'.

⁴⁰ Ignatius actually proposes three other methods of prayer. Cf. Anthony Motiola (transl.), *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius* (New York, 1964) 105-109.

⁴¹ *Spiritual Exercises*, 168, 548-549.

Intertextuality

As Praz notes, the great success of the *Pia desideria* was due in part to Hugo's marked ability to choose texts that were well suited to early seventeenth-century sentiment, such as the Song of Songs and the Psalms.⁴² Of Hugo's forty-six scriptural mottoes, twenty-two come from the Psalms, thirteen from the Song of Songs and five from the Book of Job. In book I, three mottoes come from Isaiah (chapter 1), Deuteronomy (chapter 14) and Jeremiah (chapter 8); five from the book of Job (in chapters 5,6,7,12,13); and seven from the Psalms (chapters 2,3,4,9-12 and 15.) In book II, four mottoes come from Psalm 118 alone, (chapters 3,4,13 and 15), seven mottoes from The Song of Songs (chapters 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14). In book III five mottoes come from the Song of Songs (chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5), seven from Psalms 41(2), 54, 72, 83, 119, 141 (chapters 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14) and in addition from two letters of Paul: Romans 7 in chapter 8 and Philippians 1 in chapter 9. Interestingly Psalms 68 and 72 are used twice, Psalm 118 is used four times and Ps 41 is used three times.

The impact of the Psalms on the *Pia desideria* cannot be overemphasized. In book I according to the classification of Psalms in the *Jerome Biblical Commentary* Psalms 6, 24, 31, 69 and 142 would be characterized as laments or entreaties.⁴³ Psalm 18 is a Psalm of gratitude. In general there are broadly speaking three literary types of Psalms: hymn, entreaty and thanksgiving. This classification is not exhaustive since there are secondary forms which are composites. The Psalms usually begin by invoking God with an appeal for help, a prayer or an exclamation of trust. 'O Lord, do not punish me in your anger!' (Psalm, 38); 'Be merciful to me, O God because I am under attack'. (Psalm 56); 'I am in trouble, God, – listen to my prayer'. (Psalm 64). In the body of the Psalm there is an attempt to win God's favor by an enumeration of the Psalmist's misfortunes. The conventional imagery in use here includes: waters of the abyss, savage beasts, and the snares of death. There can likewise be an expression of innocence. Their configuration is important since many of these elements found in the Psalms are also present in the elegies of the *Pia desideria*. Thus, in book I there are four Psalms of lament; one entreaty and one of gratitude.

In book II Psalms 16 and 136 are entreaties; Psalm 19 is classified as a hymn, Psalm 72 is a thanksgiving hymn. The structure of the hymn is usually as follows: the Psalm opens with an invitation to praise God. The body of the hymn lists motives for this praise: the beauties and wonders of nature and the

⁴² Praz, *Studies*, 145.

⁴³ Raymond Brown (a.o., eds.), *The Jerome Biblical Commentary* (Englewood Cliff, 1968) I, 570-575.

wonders of God in history and creation. The conclusion ends in a prayer. Hugo uses citations from Psalm 118 (119) in five separate chapters all in book II: 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6. Psalm 118 (119) is a hymn to the law but it is also an individual lament. This Psalm will be important for its influence on the *Pia desideria*. Thus in book II there are 5 entreaties, five laments and two hymns.

In book III Psalms 41, 54, 119 and 141 are individual entreaties; Psalm 72 is a thanksgiving hymn and Psalm 83 a lament. Thus there are four individual entreaties, a lament and hymns. In sum for the entire *Pia desideria* there are ten Psalms of lament, seven entreaties, four hymns and one Psalm of gratitude.⁴⁴

Word, Image and Themes

When we look more closely at the engravings in the *Pia desideria*, we become more and more aware of the unique way in which the artist Bolswert and the poet Hugo worked together in bringing together text and image into a unifying whole. We know that Hugo completed his text first and that Bolswert worked from this text. Regarding the quality of Bolswert's engravings critics are for the most part highly favorable toward Bolswert's illustrations.⁴⁵

In an intriguing analysis of Bolswert's engravings, Schilling describes two processes at work, what he terms 'situative' and 'attributive Inszenierung'.⁴⁶ An example of the attributive setting occurs in chapter seven of book I where Anima tries to pull Amor divinus's hands away from his eyes so that he can gaze upon her. While Amor hides his eyes from Anima, in the background we see a solar eclipse. The solar eclipse is a mirroring of the two protagonists. In this engraving nature is independent of the two allegorical figures and there results an 'attributive Inszenierung'. The opposite process takes place in emblem II, 20 where Amor divinus is holding his hands over the

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, I, 576-577.

⁴⁵ Marie Chèvre, 'Pia desideria illustrés par Boèce de Bolswert' *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1966) 291-299. According to Chèvre, Bolswert had a good sense and feel for the scriptural text and a delicacy in the use of imagery which is missing in Van Veen. In addition, he has done an excellent job in tracing the love story and emotions displayed by Anima and Amor divinus. As an example, a superior symbolic effort is evident in illustration of emblem I, 14. Thus, the difficulty for the artist in treating religious themes far from compromising him, has allowed him to expand his art, treating interior themes against the theater of the world. 36 of the 46 Bolswert engravings represent exterior scenes. 'Son originalité consiste dans la sensibilité religieuse qui lui a permis de comprendre que, pour correspondre à la valeur mystique du texte, la représentation symbolique devait se faire elle-même espace et mouvement' (299).

⁴⁶ "Der rechte Teutsche Hugo". Deutschsprachige Übersetzungen und Bearbeitungen der 'Pia desideria' Hermann Hugos SJ, *Germanische Romanische Monatschrift* 70 (1989) 283-300.

eyes of Anima to keep her from seeing Vanity. In this instance Bolswert has cleverly integrated the two figures into the scene. This is an example of 'situative Inszenierung'. In other emblems as well the two figures are integrated into the reality of the picture or what Schilling calls 'situative'. For example, in emblem I, 5 Amor divinus is seated on a pottery wheel making human figures from clay. Anima in a meditative pose sits before Amor divinus and contemplates the activity. A combination of the attributive and situative occurs in II, 5. In this scene Anima is holding a pilgrim's staff and hat in the midst of a labyrinth; an Ariadne thread leads her out of the maze. The scene is supported in an attributive way by Amor divinus who is seen off in the distance atop a light tower which guides ships safely to port. For the 'situative Inszenierung' of the world as a labyrinth the image of the voyage of life is considered a significant addition. But the question arises: is it more instructive to read back from the elegy to the *pictura*?

According to Schilling the elegiac distichs of the *subscriptions* help to lead the viewer from the reality of the picture to an inner spiritual contemplation as the soul grows in realization of a higher spiritual reality. If the picture speaks above all to the eye of the viewer, the elegies speak to the heart. Thus the picture and the verses correspond to the two first steps of Christian meditational practice: 'videre' (external perception) and 'meditari' (inner devotion).⁴⁷ The prose section following the elegy corresponds to the level of understanding. Having moved from the picture and verses to the prose sections is an indication that the reader no longer needs the sensual and emotional aids provided by the picture and the affective rhythmic language of the elegy.

For Schilling, book I contains for the most part emblems which have themes of conversion and repentance. Book II describes the way of the soul to God and book III is devoted to the union of man with God. For Schilling the importance of Hugo's work is that it lies at the crossroads of literary and historical traditions: Jesuit meditation, commentaries on the *Canticle of Canticles* and uses of the *Psalms*. Its popularity stems from its combination of the various elements corresponding to the different interests of the public. The *Pia desideria* has so many levels to it: humanistic, spiritual and emotional that it arouses a corresponding high level of interest in the reader.⁴⁸

Hugo's purpose is to assist the reader in meditating and conversing with God using Ignatian-like colloquies. These colloquies between the Soul and Amor divinus persist throughout the *Pia desideria*. They almost always occur in the final lines of each elegy. A typical example of such a colloquy occurs at

⁴⁷ Schilling, 'Der rechte Teutsche', 284-285.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, 285.

the conclusion of the elegy in emblem I, 3 where Anima cries out for healing and mercy: 'Come, O Samaritan, and come with undiluted wine. Come gently to anoint my wounds with oil wounds a barbarous and cruel hand has made. And wherever this cannot be done, infuse your healing essences, and my health shall grow apace with water and with wine'.⁴⁹

In looking more closely at the structural components of the elegies I have chosen four emblems for analysis: the introductory chapter and one chapter from each of the three books, *i.e.* emblem I, 4; emblem II, 1 and emblem III, 11. These chapters show a logical progression in Hugo's thought: from longing and sighing, to the need for guidance, then to illumination and finally the desire for unity under the image of the stag leaping toward heavenly waters.

1. Introductory chapter: Psalm 37 (38)⁵⁰ from which Hugo's *inscriptio* comes, is the third of the penitential Psalms. The *Jerome Biblical Commentary* (p. 582) characterizes Psalm 38 as an individual lament and it is easy to see why Hugo might have chosen verse 10 of this Psalm as an introduction to his first emblem: 'O Lord, you know what I long for; you hear all my groans' ('gemitus'). The Psalm contains a variety of emotions: longing, sighing, sinfulness, the piercing of arrows, etc. All of these emotions and elements reappear again throughout the *Pia desideria* and this Psalm provides an excellent introduction. Like the Psalmist Anima acknowledges that her sorrow results from punishment for sin. Like the Psalm the elegy describes her sickness and the reaction of neighbors.

The introductory elegy in the *Pia desideria* likewise reveals a structure similar to Psalm 38.⁵¹ There is first a plea, and then the description of sickness and the anxiety of heart kept secret. No one but God knows what is hidden in the human heart. He alone knows Anima's sighs. Who would want to reveal their feelings to the ear of another? Mere listening will not alleviate the pain. Rachel ceased her wailing since no one listened. Anima cries out that she too represses her tears. How often the soul admits she plays like an actor. When

⁴⁹ 'Tu Samarita, mero; Tu vulnera mitis olivo
Oblinere, barbarica vulnera facta manu;
Quosque Levita negat, medicos inverge liquores,
Crescet ab infuso rore, meroque salus'.

⁵⁰ The Psalms in the *Pia desideria* are numbered according to the Vulgate. The Vulgate joins Psalms 9 and 10 and 114 and 115 but it divides Psalms 116 and 147. We must add 1 for the New Jerusalem Bible for Psalms from 10 to 148 which are found in the Hebrew bible. In this paper we will be following the New Jerusalem bible translation.

⁵¹ Most Psalms have the following basic structure (cf. *Jerome Biblical Commentary*, 571 f.):

1. Invocation: Invoking God with an appeal for help, a prayer or an expression of confidence.
2. Body: description of the Psalmist's misfortunes. For example: waters of the abyss, snares of death, savage beasts, bones that grow dry or weak, heart wildly beating with fear, protestations of innocence, God's former kindnesses or reproaches for his absence or forgetfulness, etc.
3. A conclusion that frequently embodies a final petition.

people see her tears they think she is sad; when she laughs they think she is happy. But it is just the opposite. She is like Proteus. No one knows her lamentation, sighs and desires ('gemitus, suspiria vota' = the tripartite structure of the book). Only she and her Beloved. Thus this introductory emblem sets the stage for the three following books. In using the words 'gemitus', 'suspiria' and 'vota' Hugo anticipates their titles. Book I 'Gemitus animae poenitentis'; book II 'Vota animae sanctae' and book III 'Suspiria animae amantis'.

Bolswert has cleverly integrated important elements of the elegy into his engraving. Note in the picture the following elements mentioned and described in the elegy: the actor's mask lying beside Anima and presumably discarded so that she might show her true feelings in the face of the divinity. In the middle of the *pictura* we see her sighs in the form of three arrows with banners carrying the words: 'Ah', 'Utinam', and 'Heu' shooting from her breast toward God's eye and ears. Finally there is the contrast between the brilliant white cloud containing the attentive divinity and the dark background beneath Anima reflecting her troubled state.

2. Emblem I, 4: Hugo's *inscriptio*, 'Vide humilitatem meam et laborem meum et dimitte universa delicta mea' ('Consider my affliction and my trouble, and forgive all my sins'), is found in Psalm 25: 18. Psalm 25 is an individual lament by the Psalmist, a sinner and one hated by enemies. He is praying for deliverance.⁵² The Psalm has the following basic structure:

- a. The psalmist asks for Jahweh's intervention
- b. he teaches about the fear of the Lord
- c. finally he makes another series of requests ending in a plea for shelter and refuge.

So too in Hugo's elegy we find a similar structure. At the beginning Anima cries for help as she berates her beloved for merely looking on: 'Ille, meos gemitus, mea scit suspiria solus, Ille, oculis etiam persecat ima suis' ('He alone knows my groans, my sighs, he lays bare my inmost being with his eyes'). She complains that her demeaning labor under the yoke is that of a slave. But she does draw comfort from the fact that even royalty has been reduced to demeaning work. She admits her wrongdoing and fears damnation. Like the psalmist her guilt is great. Finally she implores that her punishment be lessened, a mirroring of what takes place at the end of Psalm 25: 'Spare a glance for my misery and pain, take all my sins away'.

⁵² *Jerome Biblical Commentary*, 580.

Bolswert's engraving beautifully mirrors Anima's inner state. He pictures her yoked to a millstone inside of a seventeenth century mill being whipped by Divine Love with her eyes blindfolded. Seemingly only the whips of Divine Love can guide her correctly. Anima's hand is reaching out in supplication.⁵³ We can almost hear Anima exclaiming with the Psalmist in verse 16 'Turn to me and be gracious to me, for I am lonely and afflicted'. Bolswert brings these emotions out effectively in his engraving.

3. Emblem II, 1: the motto, 'Concupivit anima mea desiderare justificationes tuas' ('My soul is consumed with longing for thy ordinances at all times'), derives from Psalm 119: 16. Psalm 119 is one of the longest of the Psalms in the Old Testament. It has been termed an alphabetic Psalm since all 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet are included in each of the 22 stanzas of eight verses. It has also been called a Torah Psalm since it is a composite of several types of Psalms: lament, hymnic and fundamentally in praise of the law.⁵⁴ In the second stanza the psalmist begs Jahweh not to let him stray from the commandments, and to teach him the statutes that his delight will be in the will and words of Jahweh. He further professes his delight in Jahweh's statutes and proclaims that he will fix his eyes on Jahweh's ways. 'Open my eyes that I may behold the wonders of your law'.

Hugo's elegy stresses the idea of choice between heavenly and earthly love under the image of a ship.⁵⁵ Anima confesses to be like the errant horse that wishes to go wherever it pleases or the tired heifer that runs away and rolls wantonly in the meadow and refuses to accept yoke or halter. The psalmist begs Jahweh to turn his eyes from pointless images (119: 37). Hugo includes classical references to Phaeton and Icarus, examples of imprudence and audacious daring. But like so many who are misguided by their yearnings, they wander from the commandments as the Psalmist points out. Anima cries out in anguish as she is being consumed by vain desires, a mirror of the various sentiments that can be found throughout Psalm 119.

Bolswert's engraving cleverly mirrors the themes of choice, inconstancy and indecision. Anima has seemingly found some resolution to her anguish and desires. She is pictured grasping the tablets of the Law with her right hand. Hanging from the tablet is what Leach has termed 'the yoke of obedience and servitude' (p. 186). Anima's left hand is pictured pushing away the liberty cap held by a scantily clad Eros. Note that the figures on the left side of the *pictura* are bright. The beloved's face is glowing and enshrined in light. But darkness seems to dominate on the right side of the picture. On Anima's left side and

⁵³ Note Bolswert's clever and demonstrative use of hands in the various engravings. We list these in the appendix on gestures.

⁵⁴ Jerome *Biblical Commentary*, 580.

⁵⁵ Leach, *Literary and Emblematic Activity*, 177-179.

above Eros we see a bucking horse. On the right side, the favored side, a bull is lying placidly on the grass. Bolswert's choice of icons vividly illuminates the choices facing Anima. Will she opt for the law, the commandments or will she choose pleasure symbolized by the liberty cap? In her final prayer she prays that God will let her breast grow warm with the love of His law alone.

4. Emblem III, 11: the motto '*Quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum, ita desiderat anima mea ad te, Deus*' ('As the deer yearns for running streams, so I yearn for you, my God') derives from Psalm 42: 2. The absence of a superscription above Psalm 43 and the repetition of the refrain in 42: 5 at the end of Psalm 43 show that the two Psalms were originally a single poem. Psalm 42 is categorized as an individual lament with the Psalmist located somewhere near Mt. Hermon where he utters his complaint filled with yearning for Zion. It is an individual prayer for help by one oppressed by enemies and cut off from God's presence. The Psalmist uses the image of the deer longing for flowing streams to mirror his own desire for God. His soul is thirsting. Tears have been his food. His soul is cast down as he remembers God in the land of Jordan and Hermon. He cries out asking why God has forgotten him. Adversaries taunt him asking where is your God. Structurally the Psalm has three strophes each ending with the same refrain. The poem moves from yearning to remembering to a lament to vindication and for repose at the altar of God.

Hugo's elegy is likewise centered on the image of the deer yearning for water. Anima in her thirst for water is like the thirsting stag as found in the opening verses of Psalm 42: 'I thirst for God, the living God: when shall I go to see the face of God? I have no food but tears day and night, as all day long I am taunted. Where is your God?' Hugo's imagery is replete with the stag ('cervus') that occurs 6 times; with burning and flames ('flamma', 'ardor', 'igneus', 'aestuat', 'ardens', 'coquar') occurring ten times, and with water ('aquas') which is used seven times. Initially Anima cries out to her beloved who wishes to know why she is enflamed and distressed. Anima describes her thirst with images of a violet drying up in the burning sun, or the earth under the influence of the dog star or the heat of the Libyan desert.

The deer makes its entrance in verse 11. It becomes the dominant image throughout the remainder of the elegy. The deer experiences a terrible thirst from the poisonous snake and from the poisonous arrow. It races out of breath in search of the rustling stream to quench its thirst. Anima too is wounded and poisoned by sin and her insides are on fire. The poisonous arrows are from Venus and pride. Anima like the deer seeks to quench her thirst. The beloved knows how she thirsts. Fleeing its pursuers the stag reaches a stream and regains its strength. Anima too races in her search for water but the waters she finds do not quench her thirst. She searches for heavenly waters flowing from the beloved just as the stag searched for the bubbling spring.

In his engraving Bolswert pictures Anima sitting atop a leaping stag with her hands outstretched toward her Beloved as she lunges for the fountain of living water flowing from her Beloved. The Beloved is standing atop the fountain with water pouring from his hands. The fountain undoubtedly represents the fountain of living water which Anima seeks to obtain in the elegy. Here is an excellent example of the artist completing the poetic action at the end of the elegy. Anima cries out that she yearns for the waters of heaven as the tired deer for the water fountain. Bolswert accurately portrays the goal of her yearnings described in the final lines of the elegy.

In summation there exists a basic similarity between most of the Psalms of the Old Testament employed by Hugo for his *inscriptiones* and the elegies in the *Pia desideria*. Their common structure has three basic components: invocation, body and conclusion or colloquy. In addition to their common structure, the content of the Psalms is also reflected in Hugo's elegies. To name but a few of these similar emotions and themes: the snares of death, fear of the abyss, sighs, longing, sickness of heart, unrequited love, cries for help and so forth. The Psalms are some of the greatest poems in existence. There is no doubt that Hugo's use of many of the themes and emotions he found in the Psalms and which he as a priest recited each day, has helped to make the *Pia desideria* one of the most popular books of the 17th century, if not the most popular.

Appendix 1: Pictorial Icons Index

Anchor:	II, 13
Arrow:	Introductory emblem, III, 1
Bird:	III, 9; 10 and 15
Blindfold:	I, 4
Bow:	Introductory emblem, II, 1
Bridle bed:	II, 10 and 11
Cage:	III, 10
Cave:	I, 12
Chain:	III, 9
Compass:	III, 4
Cosmetics:	II, 6
Covered Eyes:	I, 2, 7; II, 5 and III, 13
Cradle:	II, 9
Cupid:	I, 12 and II, 1
Death:	I, 9; I, 14 and III, 8
Flower beds:	I, 23; II, 2; III, 3; III, 4 and 14

Folly:	I, 2
Fountain:	I, 8 and III, 11
Guide-rope:	II, 2 and 9
Heart:	II, 6
Index Finger:	I, 2; 10; II, 10; III, 1; 2 and 7
Lamp:	I, 1 and II, 10
Light House:	III, 5
Lightening:	I, 11; 12 and II, 4
Mandolin:	II, 15
Mask:	Introductory emblem and II, 4
Mill:	I, 4
Mirror:	II, 6
Pilgrim Hat:	II, 2; 7 and III, 7
Pilgrim Staff:	II, 2; 7 and III, 2
Pottery:	I, 5
Rabbit:	II, 4
Sand clock:	I, 15
Scale:	I, 10
Sighs:	Introductory emblem, I, 15
Stag:	III, 11, 14
Stars:	I, 1; II, 4 and III, 6
Stroller:	II, 3 and 9
Sword:	I, 6 and I, 10
Tablets:	I, 10; II, 1 and 6
Tears:	I, 8
Telescope:	I, 14
Tower:	II, 2
Trees:	I, 6; 9; 13; 14; II, 5; 8; II, 14; 15; III, 1; 2 and 14
Whip:	I, 4
Wreaths:	III, 3

Appendix 2: An Analysis of Hand Gestures in Bolswert's engravings

Introductory emblem: Anima exposes an arrow in her breast.

Book I

1: Anima reaches out to Amor divinus who points with the index finger of his right hand.

- 2: Anima hides her face and points with her index finger.
- 3: Amor divinus takes Anima's pulse and checks for fever.
- 4: Amor divinus whips; Anima's hand in defensive posture.
- 5: Christ molds figurines; Anima blows dust from extended hand.
- 6: Anima extends hands in entreaty.
- 7: Anima pulls away Amor divinus hand covering eyes.
- 8: Anima folds her hands in prayer at fountain
- 9: Anima pleads with outstretched hands for help.
- 10: Amor divinus points upward with left index finger; Anima in supplication.
- 11: Anima near drowning extends hands to Amor divinus.
- 12: Anima reaches out in defense from thunderbolts.
- 13: Anima points to sundial while wiping away tear. Amor divinus reaches out.
- 14: Anima holds telescope.
- 15: Anima with hands at her side sighs.

Book II

- 16: Amor divinus holds tables; Anima with right hand holds tablet and with left pushes away liberty cap.
- 17: Anima holds scepter in her left hand and with her right hand grasps a guide rope.
- 18: Amor divinus gestures toward Anima who reaches out.
- 19: Anima holds hands out to ward off thunderbolts.
- 20: Amor divinus holds hands over Anima's eyes.
- 21: Amor divinus holds love tablet; Anima reaches out heart to Amor divinus.
- 22: Anima and Amor divinus hold hands
- 23: Anima gestures to Amor divinus and holds on to rope.
- 24: Anima and Amor divinus embrace with extended hands.
- 25: Anima points to marriage bed with right hand and holds candle in left. Amor divinus with arms folded on cross.
- 26: Anima gestures with left hand rising from bed.
- 27: Anima and Amor divinus embrace.
- 28: Anima holds on to anchor.
- 29: Amor divinus with hands nailed to tree; Anima with hands folded in contemplation.
- 30: Amor divinus holds book; Anima gestures with right hand and reaches for mandolin with left.

Book III

- 31: Anima holds up fingers in form of an oath
- 32: Anima holds out hands in repose.
- 33: Anima and Amor divinus holds hands and exchange wreaths.
- 34: Anima holds sundial in left hand and holds right hand over her hear. Amor divinus reaches out with left hand and right hand over heart.
- 35: Anima with hands held down melts away; Amor divinus with hands extended.
- 36: Anima with left hand gesturing to stars and right hand pointed to earth.
- 37: Anima points to exile.
- 38: Anima with hands folded inside skeleton
- 39: Amor divinus unlocks cage; Anima gestures with hands outstretched.
- 40: Anima reaches out to Amor divinus.
- 41: Anima gestures to Amor divinus with hands outstretched. Amor divinus with hands raised.
- 42: Amor divinus with finger on lips; Anima with hands outstretched.
- 43: Anima with hands outstretched to heavens.
- 44: Anima with right hand outstretched to Amor divinus and left hand covering left eye.
- 45: Anima with hands outstretched on winged arms.

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Nota Vitae

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